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A Select Source-Book of BRITISH HISTORY

Illustrating

Life, Laws, and Letters

55 B.C. to A.D. 1878

EDITED BY

J. TURRAL

Editor of *Pages of Britain's Story*; Joint Editor of *Poems of British History* (*'Lyra Historica'*)

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PREFACE

'MANUALS of English History' containing nothing but dreary facts are no longer inflicted on boys and girls. School text-books nowadays make some appeal to the interest of the child. But they naturally concern themselves mainly with the facts of history, and facts, however intelligently handled, are not stimulating to the average child. Yet a child who is deaf to the narration from the history book will often hear with interest a voice of the past, and without effort remember its message; hence one value to schools of contemporary writings.

This little book, which has been used here in manuscript some time, is not a source book in the strict sense of the word: it does not attempt to cover all the ground; important constitutional points are often passed over or ignored where their bearing on the life of the people is not obvious. An attempt is made to illustrate from contemporary literature what Mr. Maurice Hewlett calls the 'Hodgiad'—the life of the 'dim multitudes'.

With this object in view I have not hesitated to translate freely the Latin passages or even to paraphrase them; moreover, the spelling and vocabulary of Middle English and later extracts have been modernized, without, I hope, entirely destroying the old-time flavour.

For permission to include extracts from the books mentioned thanks are due to Lady Verney (*The Verney Memoirs*); His Eminence Cardinal Gasquet (*The Eve of the Reformation*); the Rt. Hon. Sir George Trevelyan (*Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*); the Controller of

His Majesty's Stationery Office (*State Papers of Henry VIII*); the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (*Rules*); Messrs. Macmillan & Co. (*Life of Charles Kingsley*); Messrs. George Routledge & Sons (W. H. Russell's *Letters to The Times*); Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co. (*The Variorum Shakespeare*); and Mr. William Atkinson (*The Guide-book to Furness Abbey*). Mr. A. Hewitson (*History of Preston*) and Mr. James Gairdner (*Paston Letters*), both since deceased, also kindly gave permission. I am very grateful to members of the History Staff here for valuable help, and to Mr. Basil H. Blackwell for his care in verifying extracts and in seeing the book through the press.

PREFACE TO NEW EDITION

The preparation of a new edition of *Illustrations to British History* has given me an opportunity to make a few corrections, and to cut out a few passages so as to make room for others that help more consistently to illustrate the life of the people.

The size of this little book prevents my giving more illustrations to bring home to boys and girls what is the most significant fact in history: the amelioration of conditions of living.

Enough, however, has been given to encourage them to read and think for themselves.

History is no longer of the *tucket and drum* order; it is useless if it does not show the development in ideals of living and of working together.

It will probably surprise many to read of the appalling sanitary conditions of only fifty years ago; of the lack of

general education and all that it means; the neglect of the sick; the absence of any spirit of sweet reasonableness between employer and employed; the first efforts of working men to secure some sort of economic independence. And yet it is this spirit of co-operation and of consideration for others that democracy must put on if it is to live.

This book it is hoped will help our pupils to realize that History is something real, something vital, stimulating us by the study of the past to help to 'build Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land'.

J. TURRAL.

BLACKPOOL,
August, 1925.

I have gratefully to acknowledge permission from the Rt. Hon. Sidney Webb to use extracts from *The Consumers' Co-operative Movement*, and *History of Trades Unionism* (Sidney and Beatrice Webb); from the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office (*Public Health and Social Conditions*); from Messrs. Jackson, Wylie & Co., Glasgow (*Overcrowding and Sanitation in Glasgow* and *State of Hospital Nursing*); and from the Ministry of Health (*Florence Nightingale's Work for Hospitals*).

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PART I

ANCIENT BRITAIN

55 B. C.

Customs.

Easily first of the Britons in civilization are the inhabitants of Kent, whose manner of life closely resembles that of the Gauls. The whole of Kent is near the sea. The Britons of the interior seldom grow corn, but live on flesh and milk and dress themselves in skins. A custom which all the Britons have is that of staining their bodies with woad. This gives a blue colour which adds to the awfulness of their aspect in battle. They shave their bodies except the head and the upper lip; they let the hair on the head grow long.

The inhabitants of the inland parts of Britain, according to traditions of which the Britons tell us, are native to the soil. The peoples of the coast have come over from Belgium for war and booty. These tribes nearly all bear the same names as the parent communities from which they came. They have remained in the country which they attacked, and have begun to practise agriculture. The land is densely populated, covered with buildings nearly resembling those of Gaul, and supports innumerable flocks. For currency the natives employ either bronze, or rings of iron measured out to a definite weight. Tin is found in the midland parts of the island, and iron, though only in small quantities, near the coast. Their bronze they import. The trees include all species as in Gaul, except the beech and the fir. Their religion forbids them to use as food the

hare, the hen, or the goose, though they breed these animals for pleasure. The climate is milder than that of Gaul, and the cold less intense.

The First Roman Invasion.

Caesar now busied himself with an expedition to Britain, for he knew that in nearly all the Gallic wars his enemies had been furnished with help from that quarter. The summer was fast drawing to an end, and in this part of Gaul, the whole of which country lies to the North, the winter season begins early. Nevertheless he felt it would prove a great advantage merely to approach the island, if by so doing he could see what kind of people dwelt in it and learn something of its geography, especially as to the harbours and means of landing. The Gauls were almost totally ignorant of such matters. Indeed the only people who had visited the island save in exceptional cases were traders, and even they were familiar only with the coast districts and the regions which lie opposite to some part of Gaul. Traders accordingly were summoned to Caesar from all quarters and questioned as to the dimensions of the island, the characteristics and extent of its various tribes, their skill in war, their civilization, and the harbours with accommodation for a fleet of large ships. They would not give any information on any of these points.

. . . . . .

But the barbarians learnt the plan of the Romans, and sent on in advance their cavalry and charioteers—a class of troops which they commonly employ in battles. These with the rest of their forces, which followed on foot, set themselves to prevent our men from disembarking. The position of our soldiers was difficult in the extreme. The ships owing to their size had to be brought to in deep water, and as the men leapt from the ships and found a footing amidst the waves, they had at the same time to fight with an enemy who, standing on land or advancing a little way

into the water, were hurling their weapons boldly, or urging forward horses trained to the work; an enemy whose perfect knowledge of the ground matched our own ignorance, whose limbs were quite unembarrassed, whereas our own hands were engaged, and our bodies burdened by a heavy and cumbrous weight of armour. All these circumstances, added to their utter unfamiliarity with this mode of fighting, made our soldiers less bold and energetic than was their wont in infantry engagements.

While our soldiers were hesitating, deterred chiefly by the depth of the water, the man who bore the eagle of the X legion, after calling on the gods that his deed might be made fruitful of success to his legion, shouted in a loud voice: 'Leap down, soldiers, unless you want to betray the eagle to the enemy! I at least shall have done my duty to my country and my general.' Then he flung himself from the ship and started forward with the eagle in his hands, towards the enemy. Upon this, our men exhorting one another to save themselves from such infamy, jumped down one and all from the ship. Those in the next ships, seeing this, followed their lead and approached the foe.

Warfare.

The methods of those who fight from chariots are as follows: first they drive over the whole field, hurling their darts, often throwing the line into disorder by the mere dread of the horses and the din of the wheels; then, penetrating between the cavalry divisions, they leap down from the chariots and fight on foot. At the same time the drivers withdraw gradually from the battle and put the chariots into such a position as to give the fighting men a ready retreat to their own lines if they are hard pressed. Thus the chariots afford the mobility of cavalry together with the steadiness of infantry. Indeed by dint of daily experience and training, they attain such skill that it is a common

thing to keep the horses at full gallop even on abruptly sloping ground, or to check and turn them in a small space; or for the charioteers in a moment to run along the pole, stand on the yoke, and retire again into the chariot.

A British Town.

From ambassadors Caesar learnt that at no great distance was the town of Cassivelaunus, and that within its defences of forest and marsh were gathered a considerable number of Britons and large herds of cattle. It should be said that the Britons describe as a town any place in a dense forest which they have fortified with a rampart and ditch, and into which they are accustomed to assemble to avoid a raid of their enemies. Caesar set out to this place with his legions and found it unusually strong owing to its natural and artificial defences. Nevertheless he hastened to attack it on two sides. The enemy after a short stand could not sustain the charge of our men, and rushed out of the town on the other side. A large number of cattle were found there, and many of the fugitive Britons were overtaken and slain.

De Bello Gallico.
JULIUS CAESAR (102–44 B.C.).

The Inhabitants.

A.D. 78

The inhabitants of Caledonia have flaming hair and huge limbs, which declare their German origin. The tanned complexion of the Silures, the curly hair which they often have, and the fact that Spain lies opposite to their shores incline one to believe that Iberians in olden times crossed over and took possession of those settlements. There is a resemblance also between the Gauls and the adjacent peoples of Britain which may be the continuing effect of a common origin; or perhaps similar bodily features are natural to peoples spreading from the same centre, under the

same sky. Still, on a general view, one may well believe that the Gauls seized the neighbouring island. One may detect Gaulish rites and Gaulish religious beliefs. There is no great difference of language; there is the same hardihood in challenging danger, the same timidity in shirking it when it appears. Yet the Britons manifest a greater spirit, having not yet been enervated by a lengthy peace. For the Gauls also, we have been told, were once eminent in warfare, but indolence soon came amongst them in the train of peace, and the loss of courage followed the loss of freedom. The same thing has happened to those of the Britons who have been long conquered; the rest are still what the Gauls once were.

Their strength is in their infantry; some tribes also use the chariot in battle. The charioteer has the nobler rank, his retainers stand by him and fight. They were formerly ruled by kings; now they are distracted by rival chiefs and rival interests. Indeed, our most serviceable weapon against the great vigour of such peoples is their failure to take common measures for the common good. It is but seldom that some two or three states associate themselves in warding off a common peril; so they fight separately and are all conquered. Rain and clouds render their sky sombre, but the cold is not severe. The span of daylight is greater than in our part of the world; the nights are bright, and in the furthest parts of Britain, so short that one can only discriminate between the end of one day and the beginning of the next by a brief interval. It is asserted that if clouds did not interfere, the light of the sun would be visible all night long.

A Battle.

A. D. 78

Even while Agricola spoke to them the enthusiasm of the soldiers was obvious, and when he stopped, amid an outburst of zeal every man immediately ran

for his weapons. As they hurried full of eagerness to their places, Agricola arranged his men so that the auxiliary infantry, 8,000 in number, should support the main body, and the 3,000 cavalry should be thrown out on the wings. The legions were ranged in front of the rampart, to crown the victory with the great honour belonging to a battle fought without loss of Roman blood, or else to give succour if the auxiliaries were repulsed. The enemy's line had been posted, for imposing effect and to cause panic, upon somewhat high ground in such a manner that the first rank were on the level and the other ranks rose behind them in a close succession of tiers. The middle of the plain was filled with the din of the chariot cavalry rushing in every direction. The enemy had the advantage in number, and Agricola feared that they might attack in front and on the flank simultaneously. He therefore opened out his line, although this was bound to involve a somewhat extended formation, and although most of his staff advised him to bring up the legions. Less ready than they to despair and in danger resolute, he took his post on foot in front of the auxiliary standards.

. . . . . .

First they met and fought at missile range, when the Britons, displaying both steadiness and skill, guarded off or dashed aside with their huge swords and little shields the javelins of our soldiers, upon whom at the same time they sent back a heavy shower of darts. At length Agricola appealed to his Batavian battalions to settle the issue at close quarters, depending on their sword points and their wrists, a mode of fighting which, long practised by them in their warfare, was as familiar to them as it was inconvenient to the Britons. The latter had small shields and mighty swords which, lacking a point, were inadequate to them if they locked blades and exposed themselves in single combat. And so when the Batavians began to clash weapons with the Britons, to

strike with the bosses of their shields, disfigure faces, and felling those who had been posted on the level, to force their line up the hill slope, the other cohorts also strained every effort in a rival onset, and cut down those who stood nearest. In the hurry of victory many were left unhurt or disabled. Meanwhile the cavalry squadron took flight, the charioteers entangled themselves among the infantry as they fought, and though they had inspired a terror which had not yet abated, they became impeded by the masses of the enemy and the irregularities of the ground. The battle now presented few indeed of the features of a cavalry engagement. Soldiers who in any case maintained their footing on the slope with difficulty were pushed down by horses, and often stray chariots or frightened riderless steeds came rushing upon them from the front or the side, guided only by their terror.

Effects of Roman Civilization.

The following winter was not interrupted by any insurrection, and very salutary measures filled the time. A rude scattered population takes easily to war, and Agricola therefore purposed to lead the people through luxury to acquiescence in tranquillity and peace. By appeals to individuals and by public grants, by praising zeal and rebuking apathy, he induced them to construct temples, courts of justice and houses. They vied for distinction, and compulsion was superfluous. The practice was begun of instructing sons of chiefs in all gentlemanly accomplishments till the Britons, owing to their inherent ability, surpassed the Gauls in spite of their industry, so that though recently they would not speak a word of the Roman tongue, now they were only content with eloquence. Our Roman dress in like manner soon became fashionable and the toga was everywhere seen. Finally recourse was had, little by little, to porticoes, baths, and elegant banquets, the embellishments of our vices. All this luxury, in reality

the condition of their servitude, they spoke of in their innocence as civilization.

Agricola.
CORNELIUS TACITUS (A.D. 55–120).

EARLY LAWS OF THE ENGLISH
690-890

If any one sell his own countryman, bound or free though he be guilty, over sea, let him pay for him according to his wer.

If any one go from his lord without leave, or steal himself away into another shire, and he be discovered, let him go where he was before, and pay to his lord 60 shillings.

If a man, kinless of paternal relatives, fight and slay a man, and then if he have maternal relatives, let them pay a third of the 'wer'; his gild-brethren a third part; for a third let him flee. If he have no maternal relatives, let his gild-brethren pay half; for half let him flee.

If a man kill a man thus circumstanced, if he have no relatives, let half be paid to the king, half to his gild-brethren.

Select Charters.
Ed. WILLIAM STUBBS (1825–1901).

3. *wer.* The money value of a man.
12. *let him flee.* i. e. become an outlaw.

PEOPLE'S RANKS AND LAW
920 (*circa*)

It was whilom, in the laws of the English, that people and law went by ranks, and then were the counsellors of the nation of worship worthy, each according to his condition, eorl or ceorl, thegen and theoden.

3 worship] honour. 4 eorl] nobleman. 5 theoden] lord.

And if a ceorl throve, so that he had fully five hides of his own land, church and kitchen, bell-house and burh-gate-seat, and special duty in the king's hall, then was he henceforth of thegn-right worthy.

And if a thegn throve, so that he served the king, and on his summons rode among his household; if he then had a thegn who him followed, who to the king's 'utware' five hides had, and in the king's hall served his lord, and thrice with his errand went to the king, he might thenceforth with his 'foreoath' his lord represent at various needs, and his plaint lawfully conduct, wheresoever he ought.

And he who so prosperous a vicegerent had not, swore for himself according to his right, or it forfeited.

And if a thegn throve, so that he served the king, he became an eorl, then was he henceforth of eorl-right worthy.

And if a merchant throve, so that he fared thrice over the wide sea by his own means, then was he henceforth of thegn-right worthy.

And if there a scholar were, who through learning throve, so that he had holy orders, and served Christ, then was he henceforth of rank and power so much worthy, as then to those orders rightfully belonged, if he himself conducted so as he should; unless he should misdo, so that he those orders' ministry might not minister.

And if it happened that any one a man in orders or a stranger anywhere injured, by word or work, then pertained it to king and to bishop, that they that should make good as they soonest might.

Select Charters.

4. *ceorl.* Churl, a freeman who was not noble.
thegen. The position of 'thane' corresponded to that of 'knight' after the Conquest.
8. *burh-gate-seat.* A seat at the town gate, a local court of justice.
13. *utware.* A grant of land by the king from the public land.

COMING OF THE DANES

787

In this year King Beorhtric took Eadburh, King Offa's daughter, to wife. And in his days first came three ships of Northmen from Haeretha land. And then the reeve rode thereto, and would drive them to the king's vill, for he knew not what they were, and they there slew him. Those were the first ships of Danish men that sought the land of the English race.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.
Ed. BENJAMIN THORPE (1782–1870).

THE TREATY WITH THE DANES

879

This is the peace that King Alfred and King Guthrum, and the 'witan' of all the English nation, and all the people that are in East Anglia, have all ordained and with oaths confirmed, for themselves and for their descendants, as well for born as for unborn, who reck of God's mercy or of ours.

1. Concerning our land boundaries: Up on the Thames, and then up on the Lea, and along the Lea unto its source, then right to Bedford, then up on the Ouse unto Watling Street.

2. Then is this: If a man be slain, we estimate all equally dear, English and Danish, at eight half marks of pure gold; except the 'ceorl' who resides on 'gafol' land and their 'liesings'; they also are equally dear, either at one hundred shillings.

3. And if a king's thegn be accused of man-slaying, if he dare to clear himself, let him do that with twelve

5 vill] manor.
13 gafol] tax. 14 liesing] Danish freedman.

king's thegns. If any one accuse that man who is of less degree than the king's thegn, let him clear himself with eleven of his equals and with one king's thegn. And so in every suit which may be for more than four mancuses. And if he dare not, let him pay for it threefold, as it may be valued.

4. And that every man know his warrantor for men, and for horses, and for oxen.

5. And we all ordained on that day that the oaths were sworn, that neither bond nor free might go to the host without leave, nor more than any of them to us. But if it happen that from necessity any of them will have traffic with us or we with them, with cattle and with goods, that is to be allowed in this wise: that hostages be given in pledge of peace, and as evidence whereby it may be known that the party has a clean back.

Select Charters.

13. *ceorl.* See above, p. 19.

FOUNDATION OF PETERBOROUGH ABBEY

963

Then Bishop Athelwold bought many villages of the king, and made it very rich. After that, he came to the monastery that was called Medeshamstede, which whilom was destroyed by heathen folk: there found he nothing but old walls and wild woods. Then found he, hidden in the old walls, writings that Abbot Headda had erewhile written, how King Wulfhere and Aethelred his brother had built it, and how they had freed it against king, and against bishop, and against all secular service. . . . . He then caused the monastery to be wrought, and set there an abbot who was called Aldulf; and placed monks there where before there was nothing. He then came to the king, and

22 mancus] the value of a mark, 8 oz. 28 host] enemy.

20450

caused him to look at the writings which had before been found: and the king then answered and said: 'I, Eadgar, grant and give to-day, before God and before the Archbishop Dunstan, freedom to St. Peter's monastery, Medeshamstede, from king and from bishop; and all the villages which are thereto adjacent, viz. Eastfield, and Dosthrop, and Eye, and Paston. And so I free it, that no bishop have any command there, besides the abbot of the monastery. And I give the town which is called Oundle, with all that is thereto adjacent, that is, that which is called the Eight Hundreds, and market, and toll, so freely, that neither king, nor bishop, nor earl, nor shire-reeve have any command there, nor any one save the abbot only, and him whom he shall appoint thereto. And I give to Christ and St. Peter, and through the prayer of Bishop Athelwold, these lands: that is, Barrow, Warmington, Ashton, Kettering, Castor, Eylesworth, Walton, Witrington, Eye, Thorp; and one moneyer in Stamford. These lands and all the others that are adjacent to the monastery, these I declare clear, that is, (with) "saca" and "socn", "toll" and "team", and "infangtheof". These rights and all others I declare clear to Christ and St. Peter. . . . And I will that there be a market in the same town, and that there be none other between Stamford and Huntingdon. And I will that the toll be given thus: first from Witlesmere all to the king's toll of Norman's Cross hundred, and then back again from Witlesmere, through Merelade, at once to the Nen; and so as the water runs to Crowland, and from Crowland to Muston, and from Muston to King's delf, and to Witlesmere. And I will that all the immunities, and all the remissions that my predecessors have given, stand. And (this) I write and confirm with the sign of Christ's rood.' ✠

Then answered Dunstan, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and said: 'I consent to all the things which are here given and said; and all the things which thy predecessors and mine have conceded, those will I that

they stand: and whosoever shall violate this, then give I him the curse of God, and of all saints, and of all ordained heads, and of myself, unless he come to repentance. And I give in acknowledgement to St. Peter, my mass-mantle, and my stole, and my robe, for the service of Christ.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

32. *moneyer.* A person empowered to coin.

35. *saca and socn.* Jurisdiction in matters of dispute. The king gave up his right of presiding over the court to the lord of the manor, who received the profits of the fines, &c.

toll. Duty on goods brought into the manor.

team, Theam. The right to compel the receiver of stolen goods to name the person from whom he received them. It also meant, a royalty granted for trying bondmen and villeins, with absolute power over villein tenants, their wives, children, and goods, to dispose of them at pleasure.

36. *infangtheof.* Jurisdiction over a thief caught on the estate of the lord of the manor.

SAXON LIFE

1000 (*circa*)

(Aelfric's colloquies were designed to help the English boys in the monasteries to learn Latin. Incidentally they tell us a good deal about life in England: there are conversations with a ploughman, a hunter, a fisherman, a fowler, a cobbler, &c.)

Master and Boy in a Monastery.

Boy, what did you do to-day?

I did many things. This night, when I heard the signal, I arose from my bed and went into church, and sang Nocturns with the brethren. After that we sang the Consecration and Lauds; then Prime and the seven Psalms with the Litany and the first Mass, then Tierce, and the Mass for the day. After that we sang Sext, and we ate and drank and slept; and again we got up, and we sang Nones, and now we are before you ready to hear what you will say to us.

When will you sing Vespers or Compline?

When it is time to.

Have you been whipped to-day?

No, because I have been careful.

And what about your comrades?

Why do you ask me about that? I dare not tell you our secrets. Every one knows whether he was beaten or not.

What do you eat in the day?

I still eat meat as I am liable to be birched (as a schoolboy).

What else do you eat?

Worts and eggs, fish and cheese, butter and beans, and every clean thing, thankfully.

You must be very greedy if you eat all that.

I am not so greedy as to eat all these kinds of food at one meal.

Explain.

Sometimes I eat this, sometimes that, moderately, as becomes a monk—not greedily, as I am not a glutton.

And what do you drink?

Ale, if I can have it; if not, water.

Don't you drink wine?

I am not rich enough to buy wine. Moreover, wine is not a drink for boys or fools, but for old men and the wise.

Where do you sleep?

In the dormitory with the brethren.

Who calls you to Nocturns?

Sometimes I get up when I hear the bell for prayers; sometimes my master roughly wakes me with a stick.

Ploughman.

Now Ploughman, what work do you do?

I work very hard. I go out at dawn driving oxen a-field and yoke them to the plough. For fear of my

lord I dare not stay at home even when the winter is very cold. Every day I must plough a full acre or more.

Have you any companions?

I have a boy to threaten the oxen with the goad. He is quite hoarse with the cold and shouting.

What else do you do?

I have to get hay for the oxen, water them and clean out the sheds.

Great is your labour!

Verily it is because I am not free!

Hunter.

Can you hunt without nets?

Yes I can. With swift hounds I follow the wild deer. I catch harts and boars and fallow-deer and roes, and sometimes hares.

Were you hunting to-day?

No, because it was Sunday, but yesterday I was a-hunting. I bagged two harts and a boar.

How?

The harts with nets, and the boar I slew.

What do you do with your 'bag'?

I give it to the king because he is my Master.

What does he give you?

He clothes me well and feeds me, and sometimes he gives me a horse or ring to encourage me to do still better.

Merchant.

And you, merchant?

I am useful to the king and to the lords, to the rich, and to everybody. I go aboard my ship with my goods, and sail to distant lands, to sell them. I buy precious things which are not found in this country, and I bring them back to you with much danger across the sea; and sometimes I am shipwrecked, with the loss of all my goods, and at the peril of my life.

What do you bring back?

I bring purple and silk, precious stones and gold, and many garments and scents, wine and oil, ivory, latten and brass and tin, sulphur and glass, and things of that sort.

Colloquies of Aelfric (*fl.* 1006).
(Freely translated from *Analecta Saxonica*, ed. B. Thorpe.)

4. *Nocturns.* The service sung soon after midnight. It was often combined with Lauds to form Matins.

5. *Prime*, *Tierce*, *Sext*, *Nones*, *Vespers* and *Compline* were celebrated respectively at the first, third, sixth, ninth, eleventh, and twelfth hours of the day; e.g. Prime was at 6 a.m., Tierce at 9 a.m., and so on.

84. *latten.* A mixed yellow metal, like brass.

HEREWARD THE WAKE

1070

In this year Earl Waltheof made his peace with the king; and in the following Lent the king caused all the monasteries that were in England to be plundered. Then, in the same year came Svein, king of Denmark, into the Humber; and the country people came to meet him, and made peace with him, weening that he would overrun the land. Then came to Ely Christian, the Danish bishop, and Asbiorn jarl, and the Danish 'huscarls' with them; and the English folk from all the fen-lands came to them, weening that they would win all the land. Then the monks of Peterborough heard say that their own men would plunder the monastery, that was Hereward and his company. That was because they had heard say that the king had given the abbacy to a French abbot named Turold, and that he was a very stern man, and was then come to Stamford with all his Frenchmen. There was then a church-ward there named Yware, who took by night all that he could; that was, gospels, mass-mantles, cantor-copes, and robes, and

such little things, whatever he could; and went forthwith, ere day, to the abbot Turold, and told him that he sought his protection, and informed him how the outlaws were come to Peterborough, and that he did all by the advice of the monks. Then soon on the morrow came all the outlaws with many ships, and would enter the monastery, and the monks withstood so that they could not come in. They then set it on fire and burned all the monks' houses, and all the town, save one house. They then came in through fire, in at Bolhithe gate, and the monks came to meet them, praying for peace. But they recked of nothing, went into the monastery, clomb up to the holy rood, then took the crown from our Lord's head, all of beaten gold; then took the 'foot-spur' that was underneath his foot, which was all of red gold. They clomb up to the steeple, brought down the crozier that was there hidden; it was of gold and silver. They took there two golden shrines, and nine of silver; and they took fifteen great roods, both of gold and of silver. They took there so much gold and silver, and so many treasures in money, and in raiment, and in books, as no man may tell to another, saying that they did it from affection to the monastery. They then betook themselves to the ships, proceeded to Ely, and there deposited all the treasures. The Danish men weened that they should overcome the Frenchmen; they then dispersed all the monks, none remaining there save one monk named Leofwine Lange; he lay sick in the sick man's ward. Then came Abbot Turold, and eight times twenty Frenchmen with him, and all fully armed. When he came thither, he found within and without all burnt, save only the church. The outlaws were then all afloat, knowing that he would come thither.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

1066–87

(A Monk's Opinion)

If any one desires to know what kind of man he was, or what worship he had, or of how many lands he was lord, then we will write of him so as we understood him who have looked on him, and, at another time, sojourned in his court. The King William, about whom we speak, was a very wise man, and very powerful, more dignified and strong than any of his predecessors were. He was mild to the good men who loved God; and over all measure severe to the men who gainsaid his will. On that same stead, on which God granted him that he might subdue England, he reared a noble monastery, and there placed monks, and well endowed it. . . . Thrice every year he bare his crown, as oft as he was in England. At Easter he bare it in Winchester; at Pentecost in Westminster; at Midwinter in Gloucester. And then were with him all the great men over all England, archbishops and suffragan bishops, abbots and earls, thanes and knights. So also was he a very rigid and cruel man, so that no one durst do anything against his will; bishops he cast from their bishoprics, and abbots from their abbacies, and thanes into prison; and at last he spared not his own brother named Odo: he was a very rich bishop in Normandy. At Bayeux was his episcopal see; and he was the foremost man besides the king; and he had an earldom in England, and when the king was in Normandy, then was he the most powerful in this land: and him he set in prison. . . . He reigned over England, and by his sagacity so thoroughly surveyed it, that there was not a hide of land within England that he knew not who had it, or

what it was worth, and afterwards set it in his writ. Wales was in his power, and he therein wrought castles, and completely ruled over that race of men. In like manner he also subjected Scotland to him by his great strength. The land of Normandy was naturally his, and over the county which is called Le Maine he reigned; and if he might yet have lived two years he would, by his valour, have won Ireland, and without any weapons. Certainly in his time men had great hardship and very many injuries. Castles he caused to be made, and poor men to be greatly oppressed. The king was so very rigid, and took from his subjects many a mark of gold, and more hundred pounds of silver, which he took, by right and with great unright, from his people, for little need. He had fallen into covetousness, and altogether loved greediness. He planted a great preserve for deer, and he laid down laws therewith, that whosoever should slay hart or hind should be blinded. He forbade the harts and also the boars to be killed. As greatly did he love the tall deer as if he were their father. He also ordained concerning the hares, that they should go free. His great men bewailed it, and the poor men murmured thereat; but he was so obdurate, that he recked not of the hatred of them all; but they must wholly follow the king's will, if they would live, or have land, or property, or even his peace. Alas! that any man should be so proud, so raise himself up, and account himself above all men! May the Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins!

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

12. *a noble monastery.* Battle Abbey.

THE DOMESDAY BOOK

1086

Customs of Berkshire.

When in King Edward's reign all Berkshire was taxed, the assessment was $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ on each hide of land before Christmas, and the same sum up to Whitsuntide.

If the king sent an army anywhere, one soldier went from five hides, and from each hide four shillings for two months were paid towards his maintenance and wage. Any man who after summons failed to go on service, forfeited all his land to the king. But if anybody having to stay behind promised to send some one else instead, and the man who should have gone stopped at home, his lord held his tongue for fifty shillings.

Any thegn or any knight on the royal demesne, dying, dispatched to the king as a relief all his arms and one horse with its saddle, and another without. If he had any dogs or hawks, they were offered to the king for him to take at his pleasure.

If any one slew a man enjoying the king's peace, he forfeited his life and all his chattels to the king.

Any one who broke out of the city by night was made to pay one hundred shillings to the king and not to the sheriff, in reparation.

Any one called on to prepare a hunting lodge, and failing to do the same, made reparation to the king by payment of fifty shillings.

Select Charters.
(Translated.)

Customs of West Derby.

This manor of Derbei (West Derby, Lancs.), with its aforesaid hides, rendered to King Edward a rent of

twenty-six pounds and two shillings. Three of these hides, the tax whereof the king remitted to the thanes who held them, were free. These rendered four pounds and fourteen shillings and eight pence.

All these thanes were accustomed to render two ores of pennies for each carucate of land; and by custom they, like the villeins, made the king's houses and what belonged to them; and the fisheries, and the hays and stands in the wood. And whoever came not to these when he ought, was fined two shillings, and afterwards came and worked until the work was finished. Each of them sent his mowers one day in August to cut the king's corn. If he failed herein he was fined two shillings.

If any freeman committed theft, or forestel, or heinfare, or broke the king's peace, he was fined forty shillings.

If any one shed blood, or absented himself from the shiremote without reasonable excuse, he was fined ten shillings.

If he absented himself from the hundred court, or came not when there was a plea, and when he was summoned by the reeve, he made amends by five shillings.

If the reeve commanded any one to go on a service to which he was bound, and he did not go, he was fined four shillings.

If any one desired to withdraw from the king's land, he paid forty shillings, and had liberty to go where he would.

If any one desired to take up the land of his deceased father, he paid for it forty shillings as a relief.

If he were not willing to pay this, the king took both the land and all the father's cattle.

Translation taken from *A History of Lancaster.*
EDWARD F. BAINES (1774–1848).

35 hays] hedges.

2. *hide.* Perhaps 120 acres at this time.
32. *ore.* Value about 20 pence (not a coin).
33. *carucate.* A land measure, fixed in 1187 at 100 acres.
36. *stands.* Stations in the forest where deer might be shot at easily.
42. *forestel.* Assaulting any one on the king's highway.
heinfare. Killing or enticing away the lord's hind or servant.

THE FIRST CRUSADE

1096

In this year also, at Easter, there was a great excitement through all this nation and many other nations, through Urban, who was called pope, though he had nothing of the See at Rome. And numberless people, with wives and children, went in order that they might fight against the heathen nations. Through this expedition, the king and his brother, Count Robert, became reconciled, so that the king went over sea, and for money received from him all Normandy in pledge, so that they then were reconciled. And the count afterwards went, and with him the counts of Flanders and Boulogne, and also many other chief men. And Count Robert and those who went with him continued during the winter in Apulia. But of the people that went by Hungary, many thousands there and by the way miserably perished; and many sad and 'hunger-bitten', towards winter, journeyed home. This was a very dismal year over all England, both through manifold imposts and also through a very sad famine that this year afflicted this country.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

7. *the king.* William II.
8. *Count Robert.* Robert of Normandy.

OPPRESSION

1124

In the same year after St. Andrew's mass (Nov. 30th), before Christmas, Ralph Basset and the king's thanes held a court at Huncot in Leicestershire, and there hanged so many thieves as never were before, that was, in that little while, altogether four and forty men; and six men were deprived of their eyes. Many righteous men said, that there were many unjustly deprived; but our Lord God Almighty, who sees and knows every secret, sees that the miserable folk are treated with all injustice: first they are bereft of their property, and then they are slain. A full heavy year it was: the man who had any goods was bereft of them by violent exactions and violent courts; those who had none died of hunger.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

FURNESS ABBEY

Extract from the Foundation Charter

1127

In the name of the Blessed Trinity, and in honour of St. Mary of Furness, I, Stephen, Earl of Boulogne and Moreton, consulting God, and providing for the safety of my own soul, the soul of my wife, the Countess Matilda, the soul of my lord and uncle, Henry, King of England and Duke of Normandy, and for the souls of all the faithful, living as well as dead.

. . . . . .

Considering every day the uncertainty of life, that roses and flowers of kings, emperors and dukes, and the crowns and palms of all the great wither and

decay: and that all things, with an uninterrupted course, tend to dissolution and death:

I therefore return, give, and grant to God and St. Mary of Furness all Furness and Walney, with the privilege of hunting; with Dalton, and all my lordship in Furness with the men and every thing thereto belonging, that is in woods and in open grounds, in land and in water; and Ulverston, and Roger Braithwaite with all that belongs to him; my fisheries at Lancaster, and Little Goring, with all the lands thereof; with sac and soc, tol and team, infangthef, and everything within Furness, except the lands of Michael le Fleming; with this view and upon this condition: That in Furness an order of regular monks be by Divine permission established; which gift and offering, I, by supreme authority, appoint to be for ever observed; and, that it may remain firm and inviolate for ever, I subscribe this charter with my hand, and confirm it with the sign of the Holy Cross.'

Signed by

Henry, *King of England and Duke of Normandy.*

Thurston, *Archbishop of York.* ✠

22. *sac, soc, tol,* &c. See notes on p. 23.

ANARCHY OF STEPHEN'S REIGN

1137

In this year King Stephen went over sea to Normandy, and was there received; because they imagined that he would be such as his uncle was, and because he had got his treasure: but he distributed it and scattered it foolishly. Much had King Henry gathered of gold and silver, and no good was done for his soul thereof. When King Stephen came to England,

he held an assembly at Oxford, and there he took the bishop Roger of Salisbury, and Alexander bishop of Lincoln, and the chancellor Roger, his nephew, and put them all into prison, till they gave up their castles. When the traitors perceived that he was a mild man, and soft, and good, and did no justice, then did they all wonder. They had done homage to him, and sworn oaths, but had held no faith; they were all forsworn, and forfeited their troth; for every powerful man made his castles, and held them against him; and they filled the land full of castles. They cruelly oppressed the wretched men of the land with castle-works. When the castles were made, they filled them with devils and evil men. Then took they those men that they imagined had any property, both by night and by day, peasant men and women, and put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with unutterable torture; for never were martyrs so tortured as they were. They hanged them up by the feet, and smoked them with foul smoke; they hanged them by the thumbs, or by the head, and hung fires on their feet; they put knotted strings about their heads, and writhed them so that it went to the brain. They put them in dungeons, in which were adders, and snakes, and toads, and killed them so. Some they put in a 'crucet hûs', that is, in a chest that was short, and narrow, and shallow, and put sharp stones therein, and pressed the man therein, so that they brake all his limbs. In many of the castles... were neck-bonds, of which two or three men had enough to bear one. It was so made, that it fastened to a beam; and they put a sharp iron about the man's throat and his neck, so that he could not in any direction sit, or lie, or sleep, but must bear all that iron. Many thousands they killed with hunger; I neither can nor may tell all the wounds or all the tortures which they inflicted on wretched men in this land; and that lasted the nineteen winters while Stephen was king; and ever it was worse and worse. They laid imposts on the towns

continually, and called it 'censerie': when the wretched men had no more to give. they robbed and burned all the towns, so that thou mightest well go all a day's journey and thou shouldst never find a man sitting in a town, or the land tilled. Then was corn dear, and flesh, and cheese, and butter; for there was none in the land. Wretched men died of hunger; some went seeking alms who at one while were rich men; some fled out of the land. Never yet had more wretchedness been in the land, nor did heathen men ever do worse than they did; for everywhere at times they forbore neither church nor churchyard, but took all the property that was therein, and then burned the church and altogether. Nor forbore they a bishop's land, nor an abbot's, nor a priest's, but robbed monks and clerks, and every man another who anywhere could. If two or three men came riding to a town, all the township fled before them, imagining them to be robbers. The bishops and clergy constantly cursed them, but nothing came of it; for they were all accursed, and forsworn, and lost. However a man tilled, the earth bare no corn; for the land was all fordone by such deeds: and they said openly that Christ and his saints slept.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

SPORTS IN LONDON

1170

Let us now come to the sports and pastimes, seeing it is fit that a city should not only be commodious and serious, but also merry and sportful. . . . But London . . . hath holy plays, representations of miracles which holy confessors have wrought, or representations of torments wherein the constancy of martyrs appeared. Every year also at Shrove Tuesday, that we may begin with children's sports, seeing we all have

been children, the schoolboys do bring cocks of the game to their master, and all the forenoon they delight themselves in cock-fighting: after dinner, all the youths go into the fields to play at the ball.

The scholars of every school have their ball, or baton, in their hands: the ancient and wealthy men of the city come forth on horseback to see the sport of the young men, and to take part of the pleasure in beholding their agility. Every Friday in Lent a fresh company of young men comes into the field on horseback, and the best horseman conducteth the rest. Then march forth the citizens' sons, and other young men with disarmed lances and shields, and there they practise feats of war. Many courtiers likewise, when the king lieth near, and attendants of noblemen, do repair to these exercises; and while the hope of victory doth inflame their minds, do show good proof how serviceable they would be in martial affairs.

In Easter holidays they fight battles on the water. A shield is hung upon a pole, fixed in the midst of a stream, a boat is prepared without oars, to be carried by violence of the water, and in the fore part thereof standeth a young man, ready to give charge upon the shield with his lance. If so be he breaketh his lance against the shield, and doth not fall, he is thought to have performed a worthy deed. If so be without breaking his lance, he runneth strongly against the shield, down he falleth into the water, for the boat is violently forced with the tide; but on each side of the shield ride two boats, furnished with young men, which recover him that falleth as soon as they may. Upon the bridge, wharfs, and houses, by the river's side, stand great numbers to see, and laugh thereat.

In the holidays all the summer the youths are exercised in leaping, dancing, shooting, wrestling, casting the stone, and practising their shields: the maidens trip in their timbrels, and dance as long as they can well see. In winter, every holiday before dinner, the

boars prepared for brawn are set to fight, or else bulls and bears are baited.

When the great fen, or moor, which watereth the walls of the city on the north side, is frozen, many young men play upon the ice; some striding as wide as they may, do slide swiftly: others make themselves seats of ice, as great as millstones: one sits down, many hand in hand to draw him, and one slipping on a sudden, all fall together; some tie bones to their feet, and under their heels, and shoving themselves by a little picked staff, do slide as swiftly as a bird flieth in the air, or an arrow out of a cross-bow. Sometimes two run together with poles, and hitting one the other, either one or both do fall, not without hurt: some break their arms, some their legs, but youth desirous of glory in this sort exerciseth itself against the time of war. Many of the citizens do delight themselves in hawks and hounds; for they have liberty of hunting in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, all Chiltern, and in Kent to the water of Cray.

Libellum de Situ Londini.
WILLIAM FITZSTEPHEN
(d. 1190 *circa*).
(From Stow's *Survey of London.*)

MAGNA CARTA

1215

(The clauses given below are translated from Stubbs's *Select Charters.*)

The Church.

I. Know that in the first place we have yielded to God and have confirmed by this our charter, for us and for our heirs for ever, that the English church shall be free, and shall keep its own privileges intact and its rights unimpaired; and we wish it to be known furthermore we have granted freedom of elections,

which is held the greatest privilege of the English church and is more needful, of our own pleasure and goodwill, before the dispute arose between us and our barons, and we have confirmed this freedom by our charter, and have obtained its confirmation from our lord, Pope Innocent III; and not only will we recognize it, but we wish also that it be recognized by all our heirs for ever. Furthermore, we have granted to all the freemen of our realm, for us and for our heirs for ever, all the privileges herewith set forth.

The Barons.

II. If any of our earls or barons or any one of those others who hold their titles from us on performance of feudal service shall die, and on his death his heir shall be of age and shall owe the death duty, he shall have his inheritance on payment of the former sum or death duty; for example, the heir or heirs of an earl shall pay £100 from the earl's whole barony; the heir or heirs of a baron shall pay £100 from the whole barony; the heir or heirs of a knight shall pay from 100*s.* at the most from the knight's fief. He who owes less shall give in accordance with the ancient custom of fiefs.

XII. No scutage or aid shall be demanded in our realm save by the common consent of the realm, except for the purpose of ransoming our person, of making our eldest son a knight, and of marrying our eldest daughter once, and for such purposes an aid within reason shall be given; the same shall hold good in the matter of aids from the city of London.

[Clause XIV explains how the common consent of the realm is to be obtained. For levying an aid other than those mentioned in Cl. XII, the king is to summon archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, and other tenants in chief to meet at a fixed place on a certain day.]

XVI. No one shall be forced to do a greater military service for a holding than is owing thereto.

[The quarrel between the barons and Edward I over service

abroad is worth reading with this clause.

'On the Feast of St. Matthew, A. D. 1297, all the great nobles were called together except the clergy, and the king held his Parliament at Salisbury. He there demanded that several of the earls should cross the sea to Gascony, and each began to make excuses. The king angrily threatened divers of them that they should either go or he would give their lands to others who were willing. At this many were very angry and dissension began to arise between them. The Earls of Hereford and Norfolk excused themselves saying that they would willingly carry out their duties which appertained to them by hereditary right by going with the king in person. The Earl Marshal Norfolk when asked to go said: "I will willingly go with thee, O King, if I go before thy face in the front of the battle." "Nay, but thou shalt go without me with the others," said the king. But he answered, "It is not my duty nor my will, O King, without thee to begin the journey." Then the king angrily exclaimed: "By God, Sir Knight, thou shalt either go or hang." "By God, O King," said the earl, "I'll neither go nor hang."' *Chronicle* of Walter of Hemingburgh (*fl.* 1300).—(Translated).]

The Towns and Commerce.

XIII. And the city of London shall have all its ancient privileges and free customs both on land and water. Furthermore, we wish and have granted that all other cities, boroughs, towns and harbours shall have all their privileges and free customs.

XXXV. There shall be one uniform measure of wine throughout the whole realm and one measure of beer and one measure of corn, that is a London quarter, and one width for dyed stuffs, and red cloth and hauberk material, that is two ells outside the selvages. Furthermore, it shall be the same with weights as with measures.

[This valuable clause in the Great Charter simplified buying and selling throughout the land. In a purely feudal society every great lord could have his own mint and measures.]

XLI. All merchants shall be able to leave England or to visit England in safety and security, and shall remain in and journey through England, both by land

and water for the purposes of buying and selling without payment of any urgent toll, in accordance with the ancient and lawful customs, except in times of war; and except when they are in a land that is at war with us, they shall be seized without damage to person or property until it be discovered either by us or our chief justice how our own merchants are being treated who happen to be at the same time in the country that is at war with us, and supposing our merchants are safe over there, then shall theirs be safe with us.

The Commons at large.

XVII. The Courts of Common Pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be held in some appointed place.

[To obtain justice it was no longer necessary for suitors to follow the court through England. They would know beforehand where to appear.]

XX. A free man shall not be fined for a small offence, except in proportion to the size of the offence; and for a serious offence, he shall be fined according to its magnitude, saving his holding; and a merchant in like manner, saving his merchandise; and a villein shall be fined in like manner, saving his wainnage, if they shall be at our mercy; and none of the aforesaid fines shall be imposed save on the oath of approved men of the neighbourhood.

[The punishment was to fit the crime. The king could no longer fine a man so as to ruin him, often to the lord's inconvenience; a villein, e. g., without his wainnage was useless to his lord.]

XXXIX. No free man shall be taken or imprisoned, seized, exiled or outlawed, or injured in any other way, nor will we go nor send after him, except by the lawful judgement of his equals or by the law of the land.

XL. To none will we sell, to none refuse, to none delay right or justice.

XLII. Any other man may leave our realm on any other business and may come back in safety and security, whether by land or sea, and this our promise shall hold good except in time of war for a short space for the common good of the realm, prisoners and outlaws being excepted according to the law of the realm.

28. *scutage.* Money paid by a tenant-in-chief in place of the contingent of men which he was bound to take to the king's army.

aid. These aids were levied occasionally until 1660, when feudal incidents were abolished: e. g. James I levied an 'aid' for his son Charles.

34. *aids from . . . London.* In Magna Carta all taxpayers except the barons were ignored, e. g. villeins and towns were still liable to arbitrary taxation.

46. *selvages.* Edges of the cloth.

70. *wainnage.* The implements for farming.

75. *outlawed.* Two marks were paid for every outlaw's head brought to Westminster.

78. *sell.* Of course suitors still had to pay fees.

LONDON STREET REGULATIONS

1297

Proclamation

(See also p. 139.)

That no person shall be so daring as to be found walking through the streets after curfew rung at St. Martin's le Grand; and that every one under the penalty that is awarded thereto, shall come when he is summoned to the watch, as well at the city gates as in the streets, armed and arrayed as he ought to be.

And that every one shall keep clean the front of his tenement, that so the streets be delivered from all incumbrances before Friday next, at vespers; and where incumbrances shall be found after the time aforesaid, let the owner be amerced in half a mark.

And that the stands be removed forthwith, before vespers.

And that no taverner or brewster shall keep the door open after curfew rung, as aforesaid; and that whosoever shall be convicted thereof, shall be amerced in half a mark, which shall be expended in repairing the walls and the gates of the city.

And that fullers' implements shall be forthwith removed, before vespers.

And that pentices which are too low shall be forthwith pulled down, that so persons may ride on great horses beneath.

And also, that pigsties that are in the streets shall be speedily removed; and that no swine shall be found in the streets, on pain of forfeiture thereof, in aid of making the walls and gates.

Memorials of London.
Ed. HENRY THOMAS RILEY (1816–78).

12. *stands.* Boxes placed in the street for the sale of goods.
21. *pentices.* Sloping roofs attached to the wall of a building.

PRICES OF FOOD

1315

Edward, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to the mayor and sheriffs of London, greeting. We have received a complaint of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, and others of the commonalty of our kingdom, presented before us and our council, that there is now a great and intolerable dearth of oxen, cows, sheep, hogs, geese, hens, capons, chickens, pigeons and eggs, to the no small damage and grievance of them and all others living within the said kingdom. Wherefore, they have pressingly besought us, that we should take

22 great horses] war chargers.

care to provide a fit remedy thereof. We therefore, for the common benefit of the people of the said kingdom, assenting to the aforesaid supplication, as seemed meet, have ordained, by the advice and assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and others, being of our council, in our last Parliament held at Westminster, that a good saleable fat live ox, not fed with grain, be henceforth sold for 16*s.* and no more; and if he have been fed with corn, and be fat, then he may be sold for 24*s.* at the most; and a good fat live cow for 12*s.* A fat hog of two years of age for 40*d.* A fat sheep with the wool for 20*d.* A fat sheep shorn for 14*d.* A fat goose in our city aforesaid for 3*d.* A good and fat capon for 2½*d.* A fat hen for 1½*d.*, and two chickens for 1½*d.*, and three pigeons for 1*d.*, and twenty eggs for 1*d.* And that if it happen that any person or persons be found that will not sell the said saleable goods at the settled price aforesaid, then let the foresaid saleable goods be forfeited to us. And forasmuch as we will that the foresaid ordinance be henceforth firmly and inviolably kept in our said city and the suburbs thereof, we strictly order and command you, that you cause the foresaid ordinance to be proclaimed publicly and distinctly in our foresaid city and the suburbs thereof, where you shall think meet, and to be henceforth inviolably kept, in all and singular its articles, throughout your whole liberty, under the foresaid forfeiture; and by no means fail herein, as you are minded to avoid our indignation, and to save yourselves harmless. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 14th day of March, in the eighth year of our reign.

Collection of Tracts.
Ed. Lord John Somers (1651–1716).

SCOTTISH CAMPAIGNING

1320 (*circa*)

The Scots are bold, hardy, and much inured to war. When they make their invasions into England, they march from twenty to four and twenty leagues without halting, as well by night as day; for they are all on horseback, except the camp followers, who are on foot. The knights and esquires are well mounted on large bay horses, the common people on little galloways. They bring no carriages with them, on account of the mountains they have to pass in Northumberland; neither do they carry with them any provisions of bread or wine; for their habits of sobriety are such, in time of war, that they will live for a long time on flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink the river-water without wine. They have, therefore, no occasion for pots or pans; for they dress the flesh of their cattle in the skins, after they have taken them off: and, being sure to find plenty of them in the country which they invade, they carry none with them. Under the flaps of his saddle, each man carries a broad plate of metal; behind the saddle, a little bag of oatmeal: when they have eaten too much of the sodden flesh, and their stomach appears weak and empty, they place this plate over the fire, mix with water their oatmeal, and when the plate is heated, they put a little of the paste upon it, and make a thin cake, like a cracknel or biscuit, which they eat to warm their stomachs: it is therefore no wonder that they perform a longer day's march than other soldiers. In this manner the Scots entered England, destroying and burning everything as they passed. They seized more cattle than they knew what to do with. Their army consisted of four thousand men at arms, knights and esquires, well mounted; besides twenty thousand men, bold and hardy, armed after the manner of their country, and mounted upon little hackneys, that are never tied up or dressed, but

turned, immediately after the day's march, to pasture on the heath or in the fields.

The Scots burnt and pillaged all the country where they were, without the English being able to come up with them.

Chronicles.
SIR JOHN FROISSART (1337–1410).

7. *galloways.* Horses of small strong breed from Galloway.

WAGES AFTER THE BLACK DEATH

1349

In the meantime the king made proclamation throughout every shire that reapers and other labourers should not take more money than was the custom of old time, upon penalty under the Statute, which to that end he renewed. The labourers, however, were so high-stomached and arrogant that they would not obey the king's behest. If any master wished to employ them needs must he give them what they asked; either lose his fruits and crops, or satisfy to the full the greedy wishes of the workers.

When it came to the ears of the king that his commands were not obeyed—that higher wages were being given to the labourers, he levied heavy fines on the abbots, priors, and knights of all conditions and on the gentry both great and small on some 100*s.*, on others 40*s.*, on others 20*s.*, and on others according to their means. He also took from every carucate throughout the land 20*s.*, and in addition to this a fifteenth.

Furthermore the king caused many labourers to be arrested and cast them into prison. Many such betook themselves to the woods and forests for a time. They who were taken were heavily fined. The leaders swore they would not take a daily wage higher than of aforetime, and they were then set free. In the same

manner did the king act with regard to craftsmen in the boroughs and villages.

After the plague aforesaid, many homes both great and small in cities, boroughs, and towns fell to the ground in utter ruins for want of inhabitants. Also many villages and hamlets were made desolate, no house being left there, but all dead, who dwelt therein. It may be that many of these villages were nevermore to be inhabited.

In the winter following there was so great a dearth of servants for all kinds of work that one would scarcely believe there was of old so great a lack.

And so all necessaries became so dear that what in times past had been worth a penny, at that time was worth fourpence or fivepence.

Chronicon.
HENRY KNIGHTON (*fl.* 1363).
(Translated.)

17. *carucate.* A hundred acres of land.
19. *fifteenth.* In 1334 a tax on movables was calculated to produce £39,000; a tenth from the boroughs, and a 'fifteenth' from the shires in certain proportions. (See Anson's *Law and Customs of the Constitution*, vol. ii, p. 127.)

THE PEASANTRY

1350 (*circa*)

(Pilgrims set out to search for Truth, but no one knew the way except Piers, who offered to guide them on their promising first to help him plough his land. They set to work but some began to slacken and to sing at the ale-house, some pretended to be blind, other 'wasters' began to threaten. In despair Piers called on Hunger to avenge him.)

Hunger in haste then seized Waster by the maw
. . . that both his eyes watered,
He buffeted the Breton about the cheeks,
That he looked like a lantern all his life after.
He so beat them both that he near burst their ribs;

Had not Piers with a pease loaf prayed Hunger to cease
They had been both destroyed, nor deem thou none other.
'Suffer them live,' he said, 'and let them eat with hogs,
Or else beans and bran both baked together,
Or else milk and mean ale.' Thus prayed Piers for them.
False rogues for fear thereof fled into barns,
And flapped with their flails from morning till eve,
That Hunger was not so hardy on them for to look,
For a potful of peas that Piers had prepared,
A heap of hermits seized them spades,
And cut their copes, and courtpies them made,
And went as workmen with spades and with shovels,
And delved and made ditches to drive away Hunger.
Blind and bedridden were bettered a thousand
That sat to beg silver; soon were they healed!
For what was baked for the beast was boot for many hungry.

(Then Piers had pity on them and begged Hunger to cease his work and depart.)

'I vow to God,' quoth Hunger, 'hence will I not wend
Till I have dined this day and drunken too.'
'I have no penny,' quoth Piers, 'pullets for to buy
Nor neither geese nor pigs, but two green cheeses,
A few curds and cream and a haver cake
And two loaves of beans and bran baked for my bairns,
And yet I say by my soul I have no salt bacon
Nor no kokeney, by Christ, collops for to make.
But I have parsley and porets and many cole plants

16 cope] cloak. courtpie] short coat. 26 haver] oat. 29 kokeney] small egg. collops] eggs and bacon. 30 poret] leek.

And eke a cow and a calf and a cart horse
To draw afield my dung while the drought lasteth.
And by this livelihood we must live till Lammas time,
And by then I hope to have my harvest in my croft,
And then may I do thy dinner as me dearly liketh.'
All the poor people then peascods fetched,
Beans and baked apples they brought in their laps,
Cibols and chervils and ripe cherries many
And proffered Piers his present wherewith to please Hunger.
All Hunger ate in haste and asked for more.
Then poor folk for fear fed Hunger eagerly
With green poret and peas to poison Hunger they thought.

(Then came the time of harvest, and new corn to market. Folk were glad and satisfied their hunger with the best of things and good ale. No beggar would eat bread containing beans, but the finest kinds of white bread; nor would he drink halfpenny ale, but the best and brownest in the town.)

Labourers having no land to live on but their hands,
Deigned not to dine a-day on night old worts,
No penny-ale would please them, nor no piece of bacon
Except it be fresh flesh, or fish fried or baked
And that *chaude* or plus chaud for chilling of their maw.
And unless he be highly hired else will he chide
And bewail the time when he was workman made.
He grumbles against God, and grouses against reason
And then curses the King and all his council after,
Such laws to allow labourers to grieve.

33 Lammas time] August 1. 38 cibols] small onions. chervils] a garden herb, used for flavouring soups and salads. 47 *chaude*] hot.

But while Hunger was their master, there would none of them chide,
Nor strive against his statute, so sternly he looked.

Piers the Plowman.
WILLIAM LANGLAND (?1332–1400 *c.*).
(Modernized.)

3. *Breton.* Here a term of reproach.
44. *night old worts.* Vegetables gathered overnight; i.e. not fresh.
48. *unless he be highly hired.* See preceding extract, 'Wages after the Black Death.'

AN ALE-HOUSE SCENE

1377 (*circa*)

(Glutton on a fast day is tempted into a London alehouse —probably the Boar's Head in Eastcheap—by Betty, the landlady.)

Now begins Glutton for to go to shrift,
And carries him to Kirk-ward his coupe to shew,
But Betty the brewster bade him good morrow
And asked of him with that whitherward he would,
'To holy church', quoth he, 'for to hear mass
And sithence I will be shriven and sin no more.'
'I have good ale, gossip,' quoth she, 'Glutton, wilt thou essay?'
'Hast thou aught in thy purse, any hot spices?'
'I have pepper and peonies,' quoth she, 'and a pound of garlic,
A farthingsworth of fenel-seed for fasting days.'
Then goes Glutton in and greets others after:
Cissy the souteresse sat on the bench
Wat the warrener and his wife both,
Tim the tinker and twain of his prentices,

2 coupe] sins. 4 with that] moreover. 6 sithence] afterwards. 12 souteresse] female cobbler.

Hick the hackneyman and Hugh the needler,
Clarice of Cock Lane, and the clerk of the church,
Davy the ditcher and a dozen others;
Sir Piers of Pridie, and Peronelle of Flanders,
A ribibour, a ratcatcher, a raker of Cheap
A roper, a roadknight, and Rose the disheress
Godfrey of Garlickhithe and Griffith the Welshman,
And a heap of upholdsters early by the morrow
Give Glutton with glad cheer good ale to hansel.
Clement the cobbler cast off his cloak
And at the new fair he named it to sell,
Hick the hackneyman hit his hood after
And bade Bet the butcher be on his side.

(Clement also chooses a representative to make a bargain of exchange. The rope-maker makes himself umpire, and it is settled that Clement shall exchange his cloak for the hood and a cup of beer paid for by Hick. The first to cry off the bargain is to pay for a gallon of ale for Glutton.)

There was laughing and louring and 'let the cup pass',
And they sat so till evensong and sang awhile,
Till Glutton had gulped down a gallon and a gill.
He could neither step nor stand ere he his staff had.
Then gan he to go like a gleeman's dog
Sometimes aside and sometimes in the rear,
As one who lays lines for to latch birds
And when he drew to the door then dimmed his eyes.
He stumbled on the threshold and threw to the earth.
Clement the cobbler caught him by the middle
For to lift him aloft and laid him on his knees.

15 needler] tailor. 19 ribibour] rebeck-player; fiddler. raker] scavenger. 20 roper] rope-maker. disheress] dish-seller. 22 upholdsters] sellers of second-hand clothes and furniture. 26 hackneyman] one who lets out horses for hire. hit] cast down. 28 louring] frowning. 34 latch] catch.

With all the woe of this world his wife and his wench
Bore him home to his bed.

Piers the Plowman.

13. *warrener.* Keeper of a warren, where animals were kept.
19. *Cheap.* i. e. Cheapside.
20. *roadknights* were feudal retainers who held their land by serving their lord on horseback.
23. *to hansel.* For a treat.

SOME TYPES OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Knight.

A knight there was, and that a worthy man,
That from the timè that he first began
To riden out he lovèd chivalry,
Truth and honour, freedom and courtesy.
Full worthy was he in his lordès war,
And thereto had he ridden (no man farre).
. . . . . .
At mortal battles had he been fifteen,
And foughten for our faith at Tramissene
In listès thrice, and always slain his foe.
. . . . . .
And though that he was worthy, he was wise,
And of his port as meek as is a maid.
He never yet no vileinye nor said
In all his life, unto no manner wight.
He was a very perfect gentle knight.
But for to tellen you of his array,
His hors were goodè, but he was not gay.
Of fustian he weared a gipoun
All bismotered with his habergeoun
For he was lately come from his voyage,
And wentè for to do his pilgrimage.

6 farre] farther. 12 vileinye] disgraceful talk. 16 hors] horse. 17 gipoun] short cassock. 18 bismotered] besmutted, marked with spots of rust. habergeoun] small coat of mail.

Squire.

With him there was his son, a young Squyer,
A lover, and a lusty bachelor,
With lockès curled, as they were laid in press
Of twenty year of age he was, I guess.
Of his statùre he was of even length,
And wonderly deliver, and great of strength,
And he had been sometime in chivachye,
In Flanders, in Artois, and Picardye,
And borne him well, as of so little space,
In hope to standen in his lady grace.
Embroidered was he, as it were a mead
All full of freschè flourès, white and red.
Singing he was, or fluting, all the day;
He was as fresh as is the month of May.
Short was his gown, with sleevès long and wide,
Well could he sit on horse, and fairly ride,
Well could he songès make and well endyte,
Joust and eek dance, and well pourtray and write.
So hot he lovèd, that by nightertale
He slept no more than doth a nightingale.
Courteous he was, lowly, and servisable,
And carved before his father at the table.

Yeoman.

And he was clad in coat and hood of green;
A sheaf of peacock-arrows bright and keen
Under his belt he bare full thriftily;
(Well could he dress his tackle yeomanly;
His arrows droupèd nought with feathers low),
And in his hand he bore a mighty bow.
A not-head had he, with a brown visage.
Of wood-craft well coude he all the usage.

26 deliver] nimble. 27 chivachye] military service. 37 endyte] compose. 39 by nightertale] in the night-time. 41 servisable] obedient. 45 thriftily] carefully. 47 droupèd] were draggled. 49 not-head] crop-head. 50 coude] knew.

Upon his arm he bore a gay bracer,
And by his side a sword and a buckler,
And on the other side a gay dagger,
Harnessèd well, and sharp as point of spere
A Christofre on his breast of silver sheen.
An horn he bore, the bawdrik was of green;
A forester was he, soothly, as I guess.

Friar.

A Friar there was, a wantown and a merry,
A limitour, a full solempne man.
In all the orders four is none that can
So much of dalliance and fair language.
Unto his ordre he was a noble post.
Full well beloved and familiar was he
With franklins over all in his countree,
And e'en with worthy women of the town:
For he had power of confessioun,
As seydè him-self more than a curate,
For of his order he was licentiate.
Full swetèly heard he confession,
And pleasant was his absolution;
He was an easy man to give penance
Where as he wist to have a good pittance;
. . . . . .
Therefore, instead of weeping and prayers,
Men must give silver to the poorè friars.
His tippet was all stuffèd full of knives
And pinnès for to give to fairè wives.
He knew the taverns well in every town,
And every hostiler and tappestere
Bet than a lazar or a beggestere;
For unto such a worthy man as he
Accorded not, as by his faculty,
To have with sickè lazars acquaintance.

51 bracer] archer's guard for the arm. 58 wantown] genial. 59 solempne] festive. 61 dalliance] gossip. 75 tippet] cape. 82 lazars] lepers.

There was no man no where so virtuous.
He was the bestè beggar in his house.

Prioress.

There was also a Nun, a Prioress,
That of her smiling was full simple and coy;
. . . . . .
Full well she sang the servicè divine,
Entunèd in her nose full semèly;
And French she spake full well and fetisly,
After the school of Stratford at the Bowe,
For French of Paris was to her unknowe.
At meatè well-y-taught was she withal;
She let no morsel from her lippès fall,
Nor wet her fingers in her saucè deep.
Well could she carry a morsel, and well keep,
That no dropè should fall upon her breast.
In courtesy was set full much her lest.
Her overlippè wipèd she so clean,
That in her cuppè was no ferthing seen
Of grecè, when she drunken had her draught.

Monk.

A Monk there was, a fair for the maistrye,
An out-rider, that lovèd venerye;
A manly man, to be an abbot able.
Full many a dainty horse had he in stable:
And, when he rode, men might his bridle hear
Jingling in a whistling wind as clear
And eek as loud as doth the chapel-bell,
Where as this lord was keeper of the cell.
The rule of Saint Maure or of Saint Beneit,
Because that it was old and somewhat straight
This ilkè monk let oldè thingès pace,
And held after the newè world the space.
. . . . . .

89 fetisly] neatly. 97 lest] delight. 99 ferthing] small portion. 101 for the maistrye] as regards authority. 102 venerye] hunting. 111 ilkè] same. 112 space] course.

Greyhounds he had, as swift as fowl in flight;
Of riding and of hunting for the hare
Was all his lust, for no cost would he spare.
I saw his sleeves purfiled at the hand
With fur, and that the finest of a land;
And, for to fast'n his hood under his chin,
He had of gold y-wroght a curious pin:
A love-knot in the greater end there was.
His head was bald, and shone as any glass,
And eek his face, as he had been anoint.
He was a lord full fat and in good point;
His eyen bright and rolling in his heed,
That steamed as a furnace of a leed;
His botès supple, his horse in great estate,
Now certainly he was a fair prelate;
He was not pale as a forpynèd ghost.
A fat swan loved he best of any roast.

Franklin.

A Frankèleyn was in his company;
White was his beard as is the dayësye.
Of his complexion he was sangwyn.
Well loved he by the morn a sop in wine.
His bread, his ale, was alway after one;
A bettre envynèd man was never none.
Withoutè bakèd meat was never his house,
Of fish and flesh, and that so plenteous,
It snewed in his house of meat and drink,
Of allè dainties that men couldè think.
After the sundry seasons of the year,
So changèd he his meat and his supper.
Full many a fat partridge had he in mewe,
And many a bream and many a luce in stewe.
Woe was his cook, but if his saucè were
Piquant and sharp, and ready all his gear.

116 purfiled] edged. 125 leed] cauldron. 128 forpynèd] wasted away. 132 sangwyn] ruddy. 135 envynèd] stored with wine. 138 snewed] abounded. 142 mewe] coop. 143 luce] pike. stewe] stewpond.

His table dormant in his hall alway
Stood ready covered all the longè day.
At sessiòns there was he lord and sire,
Full oftentime he was knight of the shire.

Tradesmen.

An Haberdasher and a Carpenter
A Weaver, Dyer, and Upholsterer,
And they were clothèd in one livery,
Of a solempne and great fraternity.
Full fresh and new their gear appointed was;
Their knivès were y-chapèd not with brass,
But all with silver, wrought full clean and well,
Their girdles and their pouches every del
Well seemèd each of them a fair burgess,
To sit within a Guildhall on a dais.
Every one, for the wisdom that he can,
Was fitted for to be an alderman.
For cattle haddè they enough and rent,
And eek their wyvès would it well assent;
And ellès certain had they been to blame.
It is full fair to be y-clept *madame*,
And go to vigilyès all before,
And have a mantle royally y-bore.

Doctor.

With us there was a Doctor of Physyk,
In all this world nor was there none him like
To speak of physic and of surgery;
For he was grounded in astronomy.
He knew the cause of every malady,
Were it of hot, or cold, or moist, or dry,
And where engendered, and of what humour;
He was a very perfect practisour.
The cause y-known and of its harm the root,

146 table dormant] permanent side-table. 155 y-chapèd] plated. 157 del] part. 160 can] knows. 165 y-clept] called. 175 practisour] practitioner.

Anon he gave to the sick man his boot.
Full ready had he his apothecaries,
To send him druggès and his letuaries,
For each of them made other for to win;
Their friendship was not newè to begin.

. . . . . .

Of his dietè mesurable was he,
For it was of no superfluity,
But of great nourishing and digestible.
His study was but little on the Bible.
In sangwin and in pers he clad was all,
Linèd with taffeta and with sendal.
And yet he did not live at great expense,
He keptè that he won in pestilence,
For gold in physic is a cordial
Therefore he loved gold in special.

Parish Priest.

A good man was there of religion,
And was a poorè Parson of a town;
But rich he was of holy thought and work.
He was also a learned man, a clerk,
That Christès gospel truly woldè preach;
His parisshens devoutly would he teach.
Benigne he was, and wondrous diligent,
And in adversity full patient;
Such he was y-provèd oftè sithes.
Full loath was he to cursen for his tithes;
But rather would he given out of doubt,
Unto his poorè parisshens about
Of his off'ring, and eek of his substance.
He could in little thing have suffisaunce.
Wide was his parish, and houses far asunder,
But he ne laftè not for rain nor thunder,

177 boot] remedy. 179 letuaries] syrups. 182 mesurable] moderate. 186 sangwin] red cloth. pers] cloth of a sky-blue colour. 187 taffeta] thin silk. sendal] silk. 200 sithes] times. 207 laftè] ceased.

In sickness nor misfortune to visit
The farthest in his parish, much and lyte,
Upon his feet, and in his hand a staff.

. . . . . .

He sette not his benefice to hire,
And let his sheep encumbered in the mire,
And ran to London, unto sëynt Poules,
To seeken him a chanterie for souls,
Or with a brotherhood to be withhold;
But dwelt at home, and keptè well his fold,

. . . . . .

To drawen folk to heaven by fairness;
By good example, was his business:
But it were any person obstinate,
What-so he were, of high or low estate,
Him would he snub quite sharply for the nones.
A better priest I trow that nowhere none is.
He waited after no pomp or reverence,
Nor makèd him a spicèd conscience,
But Christès lore, and his apostles twelve,
He taught, and first he followed it himselve.

Ploughman.

With him there was a Ploughman, was his brother,
That had y-led of dung full many a fother;
A true swinker and a good was he,
Living in peace and perfect charity.
God loved he best with all his wholè heart
At alle timès, though it pleased or smart,
And then his neighbour right as himselfe.
He would thresh, and thereto dyke and delve,
For Christès sake, for every poor wight,
Withouten hire, if it lay in his might.
His tithès paydè he full fair and well,

209 much and lyte] great and small. 215 withhold] maintained. 221 nones] nonce, on the spot. 224 spicèd] scrupulous. 228 fother] cartload. 229 swinker] labourer. 234 dyke] ditch.

Both of his proper swink and his cattle,
In a tabard he rode upon a mare.

Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.
GEOFFREY CHAUCER (1340–1400).

55. *Christofre.* A figure of the saint, worn for good luck.
58. *Friar.* There were four 'Orders' of friars: the Carmelites or 'White Friars', the Austin Friars, the Dominicans or 'Black Friars', and the Minorites or 'Grey Friars'.
59. *limitour.* One licensed to collect arms in a district.
102. *out-rider.* A monk who rode through the land inspecting granges, &c.
109. *Saint Maure or of Saint Beneit.* Saint Maurus was a follower of St. Benedict and introduced the Benedictine rule into France.
152. *in one livery.* As members of the same gild or fraternity.
204. *Of his off'ring.* i.e. the voluntary offerings of his congregation, e.g. at Easter.
215. *brotherhood.* e.g. a gild, which nearly always had a chaplain.

THE GILDS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

1355

(The Gilds were founded for mutual protection and help. The extracts which follow show how they entered into the life of the people, doing the work that falls now to Friendly Societies, Trade Unions, Town and Parish Councils.)

Gild of St. Mary, Beverley.

There shall be an alderman and two stewards of the gild, who shall manage its affairs according to what the brethren and sisters shall have agreed. The brethren and sisters shall each pay, on entry, towards the expenses of the gild, five shillings, and one pound of wax, or more. Every year, on the feast of the Purification of the blessed Mary (Feb. 2), all the brethren and sisters shall meet together in a fit and

239 tabard] short cloak.

appointed place, away from the church; and there, one of the gild shall be clad in comely fashion as a queen, like to the glorious Virgin Mary, having what may seem a son in her arms; and two others shall be clad like to Joseph and Simeon; and two shall go as angels, carrying a candle-bearer, on which shall be twenty-four thick wax lights. With these and other great lights borne before them, and with much music and gladness, the pageant Virgin with her son, and Joseph and Simeon, shall go in procession to the church. And all the sisters of the gild shall follow the Virgin; and afterwards all the brethren; and each of them shall carry a wax light weighing half a pound. And they shall go two and two, slowly pacing to the church; and when they have got there, the pageant Virgin shall offer her son to Simeon at the high altar; and all the sisters and brethren shall offer their wax lights, together with a penny each. All this having been solemnly done, they shall go home again with gladness. And any brother or sister who does not come, unless good cause for staying away be shown, shall pay half a pound of wax to the gild. On the same day, after dinner, the brethren and sisters shall meet together, and shall eat bread and cheese and drink ale, rejoicing in the Lord, in praise of the glorious Virgin Mary; and they shall then and there choose, with the assent of the elder part of the brethren and sisters of the gild, an alderman and stewards for the next year, who shall at once undertake the affairs of the gild. Prayers and offerings shall be given for the dead. The alderman and stewards of the gild shall visit those brethren and sisters who are poor, ailing or weak, and who have not enough of their own to live upon; and they shall give to these as they think right out of the gild stock, as has been agreed; namely, to each one so being poor, ailing or weak, eightpence, sixpence, or at least fourpence, every week, to help their needs. And if any of those poor brethren dies, or any other of the gild who is

not well off, he shall be buried at the cost of the gild, and have all becoming services.

The English Gilds.
TOULMIN SMITH.

1283

The Craft Gild of Berwick-on-Tweed.

(It will be noticed that this gild represents practically the whole borough.)

1. All separate gilds, heretofore existing in the borough, shall be brought to an end. The goods rightfully belonging to them shall be handed over to this gild. No other gild shall be allowed in the borough. All shall be as members having one head, one in counsel, one body, strong and friendly.

2. All fines of above eight shillings, saving king's taxes and what belong as of right to the provosts, shall go to the gild-stock.

9. Whoever shall fall into old age or poverty, or into hopeless sickness, and has no means of his own, shall have such help as the Alderman, Dean, and Brethren of the gild think right, and such as the means of the gild enable to be given.

10. If any brother die, leaving a daughter true and worthy and of good repute, but undowered, the gild shall find her a dower, either on marriage, or on going into a religious house.

11. Whoever dies without leaving means enough to pay for becoming burial rites, shall be buried at the cost of the gild.

15. No leper shall come within the gates of the borough; and if one gets in by chance, the sergeant shall put him out at once. If one wilfully forces his way in, his clothes shall be taken off him and burnt, and he shall be turned out naked. For we have already taken care that a proper place for lepers shall be kept up outside the town, and that alms shall be there given to them.

19. No one shall grind wheat or other grain in hand-mills unless through urgent need. The miller must have his share—the thirteenth part for grain, and the twenty-fourth part for malt.

20. No one, not being a brother of the gild, shall buy wool, hides, or skins, to sell again, or shall cut cloths, save stranger-merchants in the course of trade.

21. Any brother of the gild advancing money to a stranger-merchant, and sharing profits thereon, shall be fined forty shillings the first, the second, and the third time; and, if it be done a fourth time, he shall be put out of the gild. And in the same way shall any brother be punished who takes money from a stranger-merchant for such kind of trading.

23. If any one buys goods, misled by false top samples, amends must be made.

24. Mutton shall not be sold from Easter to Whitsuntide, at dearer than sixteen pence the carcase; from Whitsuntide to the feast of St. James (July 25th), at dearer than twelve pence; thence to Michaelmas, at dearer than ten pence; thence to Easter, at dearer than eight pence. Whoever breaks this assise, shall pay a fine of eight shillings.

26. No woman shall sell ale from Easter to Michaelmas, at dearer than two pence a gallon; nor, from Michaelmas till Easter, at dearer than a penny. And the names of the ale-wives shall be registered.

29. Goods shall not be bought up before they reach the market. Goods so bought up, shall be forfeited to the gild.

The English Gilds.

1375

Support in Sickness.

(*The Carpenters' Gild, Norwich.*)

Also these brethren have ordained, by way of charity, that if any brother or sister of this gild fall in any mischief or poverty, by God's sending, or by

any chance of the world, and not by his own folly or riotous living, and he may not with his craft nor with his goods help himself, he shall have, of every brother and sister of this gild, every week, a farthing, lasting his mischief: and these farthings shall be gathered at every month end, and dealt forth to the needful man, in honour of Christ and his Mother, and for all Christian souls.

The English Gilds.

1480

Control over Workmanship.

(*The Tailors' Gild, Exeter.*)

Memorandum, that John Carter received three yards of broad cloth, russet, to make a long gown for Sir John Walkington; upon the which the said Sir John complained to the Master and Wardens of lacking of his cloth. And thereupon the gown was sent for; and there was found of the cloth not stolen, but there was found cloth wasted a quarter of broad cloth for lack of cunning. And so it is judged by the Master and Wardens, that the said John Carter shall pay for the cloth to Sir John Walkington, 11*s.*, and the gown shall remain with the said Carter. And for the offence, he hath submitted himself to the Master and Wardens and to the fellowship, the 4th day of January, in the 19th year of the reign of Edward IV.

The English Gilds.

1659

Competition.

The submission and apology of two tradesmen of Preston is entered upon the books of the Corporation, February 6th, 1659, in these terms:

'Whereas the day abovesaid we James Coulters of Halifax in the County of York, Clothier, and John

127 cunning] skill.

Braithwaite son of Nathan Braithwaite of Ovendall in the county aforesaid, Clothier, each of us having forfeited an end of Cloth to the Company of Drapers, by selling and exposing the same to sale. We are sorry for the same and do promise for the future not to offend in the like.' Ten years afterwards, Peter Ryecroft of Leeds, clothworker, promises to forfeit to the company of Drapers Twenty pounds if he 'do at any time or times hereafter sell or expose to sale any woollen cloth or other commodity belonging to the trades of any of the aforesaid Company unto any person within the Corporation aforesaid except it be to the member or members of the aforesaid Company or Society'. Dated January 8th, 1669. In 1685 and 1686 the wardens of the company are ordered to distrain upon persons named in the respective records, 'for the sum of forty-shillings a month for one month by past, and so for the like sum of forty-shillings for every month hereafter that they shall use the Trades they now follow, contrary to the orders of the said company.'

History of Lancaster.

Early Closing.

(*United Action by the Preston Gilds.*)

December 5th, 1662. Whereas upon serious consideration of the company of Mercers, Grocers, Ironmongers, Haberdashers, and Salters, it is thought that the keeping of shops open in the evenings until nine or ten of the clock is imprudent, unprofitable and discommendable. For reforming whereof, we the several wardens and masters tradesmen of the several companies abovesaid, do hereby voluntarily and freely agree, and do hereby covenant, conclude and bind ourselves, that from henceforth, neither we ourselves nor any of us, shall keep open our shop windows or doors, after eight of the clock betwixt the 25th of March and the 29th of September, and after six of the clock

betwixt the 25th of September and the 25th of March, upon pain of every one of us to forfeit for every such offence five shillings. And that the wardens for the time being shall distrain the goods of such offenders unless the party offending do presently pay so much forfeited. And that every person that shall offer to oppose, rescue, disturb or sue, any such warden that shall distrain the said forfeiture and execute this order, every such person shall forfeit for every such offence four pounds ten shillings of current money of England for the use and improvement of the common Stock of the company abovesaid by distress upon their goods or by action in our own Town's Court in the name of the wardens for the time being. And it is hereby further agreed, that the wardens for the time being shall be harmless and indemnified by the company abovesaid for anything they shall do in the execution of this Order.

History of Lancaster.

A Modern Trade Union.

(*Amalgamated Society of Engineers, founded in 1851.*)

'The objects for which the Society is established are: By the provision and distribution of funds and by other means to protect and regulate the conditions of labour in the trade of Engineers, and the relation of its members with them; to promote the general and material welfare of its members; to assist them when out of work or in distressed circumstances; to assist such of them as desire it to acquire possession of their dwellings; to provide them with legal assistance in obtaining redress for accidents; to support them in case of sickness, accidents, and by superannuation; also to provide for their burial and the burial of their wives, and compensation for loss of tools by fire or water; to aid by federation other societies which do

185 harmless] inviolate.

not come under the preamble of our rules, and other trade societies having for their objects, or one of them, the promotion of the interests of workmen; and, by extending our system of investments for co-operative productive purposes, to assist in altering the competitive system of industry for a co-operative system in order to secure a full share of the fruits of our labour.'

(Extract from the *Rules*.)

(For the dissolution of the Gilds see pp. 106–8.)

1362

Regulations for the Trade of the Alien Weavers in London.

1. That three good folk of the alien weavers are charged to keep and rule the trade.

2. No alien to work at his trade till he has satisfied the Masters as to his fitness; these last to settle his wages by the day.

3. Not to work at night, on Sundays, or on the eve of double Feasts after None rung in the Parish in which he resides.

4. Masters not paying wages of men are not to be allowed to work at their trades.

5. And whereas heretofore if any dispute occurred between a master alien and his workman, such workman was wont to go to all the workmen within the City in the said trade, and by covin and conspiracy between them made, they would give orders that no one of them should work or submit to serve until the said master and his workmen should have agreed; by reason whereof the masters of the said trade were in great trouble and the people left unserved:—it is ordered that from henceforth if any dispute shall occur, the same dispute shall be rectified by the Wardens of the Trade. And if any workman who shall have

222 covin] plot.

offended, or have misbehaved towards his master alien, will not submit to be judged before the said Wardens, let such workman be arrested by a sergeant of the Chamber at the suit of the said Wardens, and brought before the Mayor and Aldermen; and before them let him be punished at their discretion.

John le Grutteret and Peter Vanthebrok, Flemings, and John Elias, Brabanter, were chosen to keep and oversee the Articles aforesaid and the alien men of the same trade.

Memorials of London.

215. *double Feasts.* The most important festivals observed by the Church. The regular services are lengthened by the reciting of two sets of Matins.

None. Part of the daily office of the Roman Catholic Church, originally said at the ninth hour (3 p.m.).

THE PEASANTS' REVOLT

1381

John Ball's Preaching.

July 13. On this day John Ball, a priest, who had been captured by the men of Coventry and who on the day before had been sent to the King at St. Alban's Abbey, was convicted of High Treason. His death however was deferred till the Monday owing to the intervention of our Lord William the Bishop of London, who, taking thought about the salvation of his soul, gained him a space of a while for repentance. This John Ball for twenty years or more was ever preaching in divers places doctrines which he knew were to the liking of the common folk and he gained for himself goodwill from the common people rather than grace before God. He taught the people that tithes should not be given to the clergy unless the giver were richer than the receiver, whether he were

the curate or rector. He even taught that tithes and gifts should be taken away from the rectors if it were not certain that they were better men than those who paid the tithes. He preached the dangerous doctrines of the traitor John Wyclif, and held the same mad opinions and false beliefs together with others which it would take a great while to recount. For this reason he was forbidden by the Bishops to enter the churches in those dioceses where he had published abroad these doctrines lest he should preach on other subjects. He therefore went to street corners and villages, or into the fields, to preach to the people. Nor was there a dearth of hearers from among the common folk whom he ever strove to win over to his views by reviling the clergy and by tickling their ears. Finally he was excommunicated, and since that did not stop him, he was thrown into prison; whereupon he prophesied that twenty thousand of his friends should set him free. And this thing actually did come to pass in that troublous condition of the country aforesaid when the commons broke open all the prisons and made the prisoners depart. And when he had thus been set free, he followed them inciting them to still further excesses, saying that this was just how everything must needs be done. And in order to inspire them still more with his doctrines, he went to Blackheath where 200,000 of the commons were gathered together and began his sermon in this wise:

'When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?'

He strove to prove from the words of the proverb he had taken for his text that in the beginning all men were by nature made equal, that slavery had arisen by reason of the unjust oppression of wicked men contrary to the will of God; for had it pleased God to make slaves, he would have determined in the beginning of the world who should be slave and who master. Let them bethink themselves therefore that now God had given

them a time when putting aside the yoke of a weary bondage, they might, did they wish, rejoice in that liberty so long desired: 'Wherefore be ye men of courage and live good family lives, cultivating your own ground, destroying and cutting down all noxious growths which are wont to be an hindrance to the fruit; and haste ye to do it now: first, by slaughtering the great lords of the land, secondly by making an end of the lawyers, judges and jurors, and lastly by removing from your land all whom ye know to be dangerous to the common weal. Thus in the end ye may possess yourselves of peace and of security for the future if, the great lords removed, all alike share in equal freedom, birth, position, and power.'

Moreover he had sent to the leaders of the commons in Essex a certain letter full of dark riddles to encourage them to go through with what they had already taken in hand. Afterwards it was found in the sleeve of a man hanged for inciting the commons, and runs as follows:

'I, John Shepherd, some time Priest of St. Mary's, York, and now of Colchester, greet well John Nameless and John Miller and John Carter, and bid them that they be ware of guile in borough, and stand together in God's name, and bid Piers Ploughman go to his work, and chastise well Hob the robber, and take with you John Trueman and all his fellows and no more.'

John the Miller hath ground small, small, small,
The king's son of Heaven shall pay for all,
Beware or ye be woe,
Know your friend from your foe,
Have enough and say 'Ho':
And do well and better, and flee from sin,
And seek peace and hold yourself therein,
And so bid John Trueman and all his fellows.

John Ball confessed that he had written this selfsame

letter and sent it to the people, yea, and committed many other crimes.

Historia Anglicana.
THOMAS OF WALSINGHAM (*d.* 1422 *c.*).
(Freely translated.)

Death of Wat Tyler.

On the Saturday morning, the king left the Wardrobe, and went to Westminster, where he and all the lords heard mass in the abbey. In this church there is a statue of our Lady in a small chapel, that has many virtues and performs great miracles, in which the kings of England have much faith. The king, having paid his devotions and made his offerings to this shrine, mounted his horse about nine o'clock, as did the barons who were with him. They rode along the causeway to return to London; but, when they had gone a little way, he turned to a road on the left to go from London.

This day all the rabble were again assembled, under the conduct of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball, to parley at a place called Smithfield, where, every Friday, the horse-market is kept. They amounted to upwards of twenty thousand, all of the same sort. Many more were in the city, breakfasting and drinking Rhenish and Malmsey Madeira wines, in taverns and at the houses of the Lombards, without paying for anything; and happy was he who could give them good cheer. Those who were collected in Smithfield had the king's banners, which had been given to them the preceding evening; and these reprobates wanted to pillage the city this same day, their leaders saying that hitherto they had done nothing. 'The pardons which the king has granted will not be of much use to us; but, if we be of the same mind, we shall pillage this large, rich, and powerful town of London, before those from Essex, Suffolk, Cambridge, Bedford, Warwick, Reading, Lancashire, Arundel, Guildford, Coventry, Lynn, Lincoln, York, and Durham shall arrive; for

they are on the road, and we know for certain that Vaquier and Lister will conduct them hither. If we now plunder the city of the wealth that is in it, we shall have been beforehand, and shall not repent of so doing; but, if we wait for their arrival, they will wrest it from us.' To this opinion all had agreed, when the king appeared in sight, attended by sixty horse. He was not thinking of them, but intended to have continued his ride without coming into London; however, when he came before the abbey of St. Bartholomew, which is in Smithfield, and saw the crowd of people, he stopped, and said he would not proceed until he knew what they wanted; and, if they were troubled, he would appease them.

The lords who accompanied him stopped also, as was but right, since the king had stopped, when Wat Tyler, seeing the king, said to his men, 'Here is the king: I will go and speak with him; do not you stir from hence until I give you a signal.' He made a motion with his hand, and added, 'When you shall see me make this sign, then step forward, and kill every one except the king; but hurt him not, for he is young, and we can do what we please with him; for, by carrying him with us through England, we shall be lords of it without any opposition.' There was a doublet-maker of London, called John Tick, who had brought sixty doublets, with which some of the clowns had dressed themselves; and on his asking who was to pay, for he must have for them thirty good marks, Tyler replied, 'Make thyself easy, man; thou shalt be well paid this day: look to me for it: thou hast sufficient security for them.' On saying this, he spurred the horse on which he rode, and, leaving his men, galloped up to the king, and came so near that his horse's head touched the crupper of that of the king. The first words he said, when he addressed the king, were 'King, dost thou see all those men there?' 'Yes,' replied the king: 'why dost thou ask?' 'Because they are all under my command, and have sworn by

their faith and loyalty to do whatever I shall order.' 'Very well,' said the king: 'I have no objections to it.' Tyler, who was only desirous of a riot, answered, 'And thinkest thou, king, that those people and as many more, who are in the city, also under my command, ought to depart without having had thy letters? Oh no, we will carry them with us.' 'Why,' replied the king, 'so it has been ordered, and they will be delivered out one after the other: but, friend, return to thy companions, and tell them to depart from London: be peaceable and careful of yourselves, for it is our determination that you shall all of you have your letters by villages and towns, as it had been agreed on.'

As the king finished speaking, Wat Tyler, casting his eyes around him, spied a squire attached to the king's person bearing his sword. Tyler mortally hated this squire; formerly they had had words together, when the squire ill-treated him. 'What, art thou there?' cried Tyler: 'give me thy dagger.' 'I will not,' said the squire: 'why should I give it thee?' The king, turning to him, said, 'Give it him, give it him;' which he did, though much against his will. When Tyler took it, he began to play with it and turn it about in his hand, and, again addressing the squire, said, 'Give me that sword.' 'I will not,' replied the squire; 'for it is the king's sword, and thou art not worthy to bear it, who art but a mechanic; and, if only thou and I were together, thou wouldst not have dared to say what thou hast for as large a heap of gold as this church.' 'By my troth,' answered Tyler, 'I will not eat this day before I have thy head.' At these words, the mayor of London, with about twelve more, rode forward, armed under their robes, and, pushing through the crowd, saw Tyler's manner of behaving: upon which he said, 'Scoundrel, how darest thou thus behave in the presence of the king, and

183. The dagger is still preserved in the Fishmongers' Hall.

utter such words? It is too impudent for such as thou.' The king then began to be enraged, and said to the mayor, 'Lay hands on him.'

Whilst the king was giving this order, Tyler had addressed the mayor, saying, 'Hey, in God's name, what I have said, does it concern thee? What dost thou mean?' 'Truly,' replied the mayor, who found himself supported by the king, 'does it become such a stinking rascal as thou art to use such speech in the presence of the king, my natural lord? I will not live a day, if thou pay not for it.' Upon this, he drew a kind of scimitar he wore, and struck Tyler such a blow on the head as felled him to his horse's feet. When he was down, he was surrounded on all sides, so that his men could not see him; and one of the king's squires, called John Standwich, immediately leapt from his horse, and drawing a handsome sword which he bore, thrust it into his belly, and thus killed him.

SIR JOHN FROISSART.

16. *curate.* i.e. one having the care of souls—the vicar. Cf. Prayer Book, 'all Bishops and Curates.'

rector. Often a layman, who received the greater tithes, the work being done by a 'vicar' who received the lesser tithes.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

1385

As it is known how many people be in this island, there be also of so many people languages and tongues; nevertheless, Welshmen and Scots that be not mixed with other nations hold well nigh their first language and speech, except the Scots who were for some time leagued with, and who dwelt with the Picts, draw somewhat after their speech. But the Flemings that dwell on the west side of Wales have left off their strange speech and speak Saxon enough. Also Englishmen, though they had from the beginning

three kinds of speech, Southern, Northern, and Middle (in the middle of the land), as they come of three kinds of people from Germany; nevertheless, by intermingling first with the Danes and afterwards with the Normans, in many the country language is impaired, and some use strange babbling, chattering, snarling, harshness, and grinding of teeth.

This impairing of the birth-tongue is because of two things: First, because children in school against the use and manner of all other nations, be compelled to leave their own language and to construe their lessons and their things in French, and have done so since the Normans came first into England. Also gentlemen's children be taught for to speak French from the time they be rocked in their cradles, and can speak and play with a child's brooch, and upland men will liken themselves to gentlemen and try valiantly to speak French to be more talked about. This manner was much used before the first murrain, and is since somewhat changed. For John Cornwall, a Master of Grammar, changed the learning in Grammar Schools, and construction of French into English; and Richard Pencrych learned that manner of teaching from him, and other men from Pencrych; so that now in the year of our Lord 1385, of the second King Richard—after the conquest nine, in all the Grammar Schools of England, children leave French and construe and learn in English, and have thereby advantage on one side and disadvantage on another. Their advantage is that they learn their grammar in less time than children were wont to do; the disadvantage is that now children of Grammar Schools know no more French than their left heel, and that is harm for them, if they shall pass the sea and travel in strange lands, and in many cases also. Also gentlemen have now much left off teaching their children French. It seems a great wonder how English, that is the birth-

26 upland] countrified.

tongue of Englishmen and their own language and tongue, is so diverse of sound in this island, and the language of Normandy is a stranger from another land, and will have one manner of sound among all men that speak it aright in England. Nevertheless there are as many diverse kinds of French in the realm of France as diverse manners of English in the realm of England. Also of the foresaid Saxon tongue that is divided into three, and is retained scarcely with a few upland men, and it is a great wonder; for men of the East with men of the West, as it were under the same part of Heaven, accord more in sounding of speech than men of the North with men of the South; therefore it is that Mercians, that be men of middle England, as it were partners of the ends, understand better the side languages Northern and Southern, than North and South understand each other.

All the language of the Northumbrians and especially at York is so sharp, piercing and harsh and unshapely, that we Southern men may scarcely understand that language. I trow that that is because they be nigh to strange men and aliens that speak strangely, and also because the kings of England dwell always far from that country; for they be more turned to the South country; and if they go to the North country they go with great help and strength. The cause why they be more in the South country than in the North may be, better corn land, more people, more noble cities, and more profitable havens.

JOHN OF TREVISA (1326–1412).
Extract from his translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* in Morris and Skeat's *Specimens of Early English.*
(Modernized.)

29. *the first murrain.* The plague of 1349.

69 strange] foreign.

LONDON LYCKPENY

A Poor Man in London, 1400 *circ.*

To London once my steps I bent
  Where truth in no wise should be faint,
To Westminster-ward I forthwith went,
  To a man of law to make complaint;
  I said, 'For Mary's love, that holy saint!
Pity the poor that would proceed;'
But for lack of money I could not speed.

And as I thrust the press among,
  By froward chance my hood was gone,
Yet for all that I stayed not long,
  Till to the King's Bench I was come.
  Before the judge I kneeled anon,
And prayed him for God's sake to take heed;
But for lack of money I might not speed.

Beneath them sat clerkès a great Rout,
  Which fast did write by one assent.
There stood up one and cried about,
  'Richard, Robert, and John of Kent.'
  I wist not well what this man meant,
He cried so thick there indeed,
But he that lacked money might not speed.

Unto the common place I rode through,
  Where sat one with a silken hood.
I did him reverence for I ought to do so,
  And told my case as well as I could,
  How my goods were defrauded me by falsehood,
I got not a mum of his mouth for my meed,
And for lack of money I might not speed.

Unto the Rolls I gat me from thence,
  Before the Clerks of the Chancery,
Where many I found earning of pence,

7 speed] succeed.

But none at all once regarded me.
I gave them my plaint upon my knee;
They liked it well when they had it read,
But lacking money I could not speed.

In Westminster Hall I found out one,
Which went in a long gown of raye;
I crouched and kneeled before him anon,
For Mary's love, of help I him pray.
'I wot not what thou meanest,' gan he say;
To get me thence he did me bid,
For lack of money I could not speed.

Within this Hall neither rich nor yet poor
Would do for me aught, although I should die.
Which seeing I got me out of the door,
Where Flemings began on me for to cry,
Master, what will you copen or buy?
Fine felt hats or spectacles to read?
Lay down your silver and here you may speed.

Then to Westminster gate I presently went,
When the sun was at high prime;
Cooks to me they took good entent,
And proffered me bread with ale and wine,
Ribs of beef, both fat and full fine,
A fair cloth they gan for to spread;
But wanting money I might not there speed.

Then unto London I did me hie,
Of all the land it beareth the prize.
'Hot peascods!' one began to cry,
'Strawberries ripe!' and 'Cherries in the rise!'
And bade me come near, and buy some spice;
Pepper and saffron they gan me bede;
But for lack of money I might not speed.

37 raye] striped cloth. 47 copen] buy. 62 bede] offer.

Then to the Chepe I began me drawn,
Where much people I saw for to stand:
One offered me velvet, silk, and lawn,
Another he taketh me by the hand:
'Here is Paris thread, the finest in the land,'
I never was used to such things indeed;
And wanting money I might not speed.

Then went I forth by London Stone,
Throughout all Canwyke Street;
Drapers much cloth me offered anon;
Then met I one, cried 'Hot sheep's feet';
One cried 'Mackerel'; 'Rushes green' another gan greet;
One bade me buy a hood to cover my head;
But for want of money I might not speed.

Then I hied me unto East-chepe;
One cries 'Ribs of beef', & many a pie;
Pewter pots they clattered on a heap;
There was harp, pipe, and minstrelsy.
'Yea, by cock!' 'Nay, by cock!' some began to cry,
Some sang of Jenken and Julian for their meed;
But for lack of money I might not speed.

Then into Cornhill anon I yode,
Where was much stolen gear among
I saw where hung mine own hood
That I had lost among the throng;
To buy my own hood I thought it wrong,
I knew it well as I did my creed
But for lack of money I could not speed.

The Taverner took me by the sleeve,
'Sir,' sayth he, 'will you our wine assay?'
I answered, 'That can not much me grieve:
A penny can do no more than it may;'
I drank a pint & for it did pay,

Yet sore a-hungered from thence I yede,
And wanting money, I could not speed.

Then hied I me to Billingsgate
And one cried, 'Hoo! go we hence!'
I prayed a barge-man for God's sake,
That he would spare me my expense.
'Thou scapst not here,' quoth he, 'under two pence;
I list not yet bestow my Alm's deed.'
Thus, lacking money, I could not speed.

Then I conveyed me into Kent,
For of the law would I meddle no more;
Because no man to me took entent,
I dight me to do as I did before,
Now Jesus, that in Bethlehem was bore,
Save London, and send true lawyers their meed,
For who so wants money with them shall not speed!

JOHN LYDGATE (1375–1440).
(Modernized.)

Title. *Lyckpeny.* 'London is said to be a *lickpenny* in the sense that it licks up the pence that come near it' (Skeat).

22. *the common place.* The Court of Common Pleas.

29. *the Rolls.* The Court of Chancery.

51. *high prime.* About 9 a.m.

60. *in the rise.* On the bough, or branch.

72. *Canwyke Street.* Cannon Street, formerly Candle-wick-street. Weavers from Flanders had settled there.

104. *I list not yet bestow, &c.* i. e. it is not my pleasure yet to bestow alms.

109. *dight me.* i. e. got ready.

97 yede] went.

THE WATCH

1405

Charge sent to the Aldermen by the Mayor, as to the Watch.

We do further command and charge you, that you do order good and sufficient watch of folks, properly armed and arrayed, to be kept in your Ward every night during this solemn feast of Christmas; going always, and passing, through all the streets and lanes in your said Ward, in manner as heretofore has been wont to be done. And that no persons shall go in the said city, or in the suburbs thereof, with visors or false faces, on the pain that awaits the same. And that on the outside of every house that is upon the high streets and lanes of the said city, every night during the solemn Feast aforesaid, a lantern shall be hung, with a lighted candle therein, the same to burn so long as it may last; on pain of paying four pence to the Chamber of the Guildhall, every time that default in such light shall be made.

And this you are in no manner to omit.

Memorials of London.

MEASURES FOR AN ARREST

10th August, 1586.

Letter from Burghley to Walsingham.

(Written when the Government were about to arrest the conspirators in the Babington Plot, who were trying to escape.)

Sir,—As I came from London homeward, in my coach, I saw at every town's end the number of ten or twelve standing, with long staves, and until I came to Enfield I thought no other of them, but that they had

stayed for avoiding of the rain, or to drink at some Ale-houses, for so they did stand under penthouses at Ale-houses. But at Enfield finding a dozen in a plump, when there was no rain, I bethought myself that they were appointed as watchmen, for the apprehending of such as are missing; and thereupon I called some of them to me apart, and asked them wherefore they stood there? and one of them answered: 'To take three young men!' And demanding how they should know the persons one answered with these words: 'Marry, my Lord, by intelligence of their favour.' 'What mean you by that?' quoth I. 'Marry,' said they, 'one of the parties hath a hooked nose.'—And have you, said I, no other mark?—'No,' said they. And then I asked who appointed them; and they answered one Banks, a Head Constable, whom I willed to be sent to me. Surely, sir, whosoever had the charging from you hath used the matter negligently, for these watchmen stand so openly in plumps, as no suspected person will come near them; and if they be no better instructed but to find three persons by one of them having a hooked nose, they may miss thereof. And thus I thought good to advertise you, that the Justices that had the charging, as I think, may use the matter more circumspectly.

(Some conspirators were arrested on August 10th, so we may infer that the description was adequate.)

Quoted in *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, edited by H. H. Furness; Philadelphia, 1899.

8 plump] cluster. 16 favour] face, countenance.

DISORDER BEFORE THE WARS OF THE ROSES

12th March, 1450.

Landings on the Coast.

Margaret Paston to John Paston.

To my right worshipful master, John Paston, be this delivered in haste.

There be many enemies against Yarmouth and Cromer, and have done much harm, and taken many Englishmen, and put them in great distress and greatly ransomed them; and the said enemies be so bold that they come up to the land, and play on Caistor Sands, and in other places, as homely as they were Englishmen. Folks be right sore afraid that they will do much harm this summer, unless there be made right great purveyance against them.

Other tidings know I none at this time. The blissful Trinity have you in his keeping.

Yours, M. P.

The Paston Letters.
Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER (1828–1912).
(Modernized.)

Rioting.

John Paston's Petition.

1450

To the King, our Sovereign Lord, and to the right wise and discreet Lords, assembled in this present Parliament.

. . . The said Lord Molyns sent to the said mansion a riotous people to the number of a thousand persons, with blanket bends of a suit as risers against your peace,

6 blanket bends] bands of white woollen cloth.

arrayed in manner of war with cuirass, brigaunders, jacks, sallets, gleyfes, bows, arrows, pavises, guns, pans with fire and teines burning therein, long cromes to draw down houses, ladders, picks with which they mined down the walls, and long trees with which they broke up gates and doors, and so came in to the said mansion, the wife of your beseecher at that time being therein, and twelve persons with her; the which persons they drove out of the said mansion, and mined down the wall of the chamber wherein the wife of your said beseecher was, and bore her out at the gates, and cut asunder the posts of the houses and let them fall, and broke up all the chambers and coffers within the said mansion, and rifled, and in manner of robbery, bore away all the stuff, array and money that your said beseecher and his servants had there, to the value of £200, and part thereof sold, and part thereof gave away, and the remainder they divided among them, to the great and outrageous hurt of your said beseecher, saying openly, that if they might have found there, your said beseecher and one John Damme, which is of council with him, and divers other of the servants of your said beseecher, they should have died. And yet divers of the said misdoers and riotous people unknown, contrary to your laws, daily keep the said manor with force, and lie in wait of divers of the friends, tenants and servants of your said beseecher, and grievously vex and trouble him in divers ways, and seek him in their houses, ransacking and searching their sheaves and straw in their barns and other places with boar spears, swords and gesernes as it seems to slay them if they might have found them; and some have been beaten and left for dead, so that they for doubt of their lives, dare not go home to their houses, nor occupy their husbandry, to the great hurt, fear and

7 brigaunders] foot-soldier's body-armour. 8 jacks] sleeveless tunics. sallets] helmets. gleyfes] swords. pavises] large shields. 9 teines] ? thin plates of metal. cromes] poles with crooks. 37 gesernes] battle-axes.

dread as well of your said beseecher, as of his said friends, tenants and servants. And also they compelled poor tenants of the said manor, now within their danger, against their will, to take feigned plaints in the courts of the hundred there against the said friends, tenants and servants of your said beseecher, which dare not appear to answer for fear of bodily harm, nor can get no copies of the said complaints to remedy them by the law, because he that keepeth the said courts is of covin with the said misdoers and was one of the said risers which by colour of the said plaints grievously amercy the said friends, tenants and servants of your said beseecher to their outrageous hurt.

Please it your Highness, considering that if this great insurrection, riot and wrongs, and daily continuance thereof so heinously done against your Crown, dignity and peace, should not by your high might be duly punished, it shall give great boldness to them and all other misdoers to make congregations and conventicles riotously, unable to be seized, to the subversion of and final destruction of your liege people and laws.

The Paston Letters.
(Modernized.)

JACK CADE'S REBELLION

To my Right Honourable Master, John Paston.

Please it your good and gracious mastership tenderly to consider the great losses and hurts that your petitioner hath, and hath had ever since the commons of Kent came to the Blackheath, and that is at fifteen years past, whereas my master, Sir John Fastolf, Knight, commanded your beseecher to take a man,

51 covin] conspiracy. 53 amercy] fine.

and two of the best horses that were in his stable, with him to ride to the commons of Kent, to get the articles that they came for. And so I did; and all so soon as I came to the Blackheath, the Captain made the commons to take me. And for the salvation of my master's horse, I made my fellow to ride away with the two horses; and I was brought forthwith before the Captain of Kent. And the Captain demanded me what was my cause of coming thither, and why that I made my fellow to steal away with the horse. And I said that I came thither to cheer with my wife's brethren, and others that were my allies and gossips of mine that were present there. And then was there one there and said to the Captain that I was one of Sir John Fastolf's men, and the two horses were Sir John Fastolf's; and then the Captain let cry treason upon me throughout all the field, and brought me at four parts of the field with a herald of the Duke of Exeter before me in the Duke's coat of arms, making four 'Oyez' at four parts of the field; proclaiming openly by the said heralds that I was sent there for to spy their puissance and their habiliments of war, from the greatest traitor (the Duke of Suffolk) that was in England or in France. And moreover he said that the said Sir John Fastolf had furnished his place with the old soldiers of Normandy and habiliments of war, to destroy the commons of Kent when they came to Southwark; and therefore he said plainly that I should lose my head.

And so forthwith I was taken, and led to the Captain's tent, and an axe and a block was brought forth to have smitten off my head; and then came my master Poynings, your brother, with other of my friends and letted the Captain, and said plainly that there should die a hundred or two that in case be that I died; and so by that means my life was saved at that time. And then I was sworn to the Captain and

40 letted] prevented.

to the commons, that I should go to Southwark, and array me in the best wise that I could, and come again to them to help them; and so I got the articles and brought them to my master, and that cost me more among the commons that day than 27 shillings.

Whereupon I came to my master, Fastolf, and brought him the articles, and informed him of all the matter, and had not I been, the commons would have burned his place and all his tenures, where through it cost me of my mine own proper goods at that time more than six marks in meat and drink; and notwithstanding, the Captain that same time lete take me at the White Hart in Southwark, and there commanded Lovelace to despoil me out of mine array, and so he did. And there he took a fine gown of muster dewyllers, furred with fine beaver, and a pair of Brigandine covered with blue velvet and gilt mail with leg harness, the value of the gown and the Brigandine, £8. Item, the Captain sent certain of his meyne to my chamber in your rents, and there broke up my chest, and took away an obligation of mine that was due unto me of £36, by a priest of Paul's, and another obligation of a knight of £10, and my purse with five rings of gold, and seventeen shillings and sixpence of gold and silver; and one harness complete of the touch of Milan, and one gown of fine perse blue furred with martens; and two gowns, one furred with bogey, and another lined with frieze; and they would have smitten off mine head, when that they had despoiled me at the White Hart. And there my master Poynings and my friends saved me, and so I was put up till the night when the battle was at London Bridge; and then at night the Captain put me out into the battle at the bridge, and there I was wounded, and hurt near hand to death; and there I was six

55 lete] caused. 58 muster dewyllers] grey cloth. 62 meyne] household, following. 69 touch] workmanship. perse blue] bluish-grey cloth. 70 bogey] budge fur; lambskin with the wool outside.

hours in the battle, and might never come out thereof; and four times before that time I was carried about throughout Kent and Sussex, and there they would have smitten off mine head.

And in Kent where my wife dwelled, they took away all our goods movable that we had, and there would have hanged my wife and five of my children, and left her no more goods but her kirtle and her smock.

The Paston Letters.
(Modernized.)

4. *the Blackheath.* Near Greenwich, where Cade encamped from June 29 to July 1, 1450.
10. *the Captain.* Jack Cade.
39. *Poynings.* Swordbearer and currier to Cade.
60. *Brigandine.* Coat of leather on quilted linen with small iron plates sewed on.

THE ENCLOSURES

1516

I

'But yet this is not only the necessary cause of stealing. There is another which, as I suppose, is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone.' 'What is that?' quoth the Cardinal. 'Forsooth' (quoth I), 'your sheep, that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers, and so wild, that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities. For look, in what parts of the realm doth grow the finest, and therefore dearest wool, there noblemen and gentlemen, yea, and certain Abbots, holy men God wot, not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits that were wont to grow to their

forefathers and predecessors of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure, nothing profiting, yea, much noying the weal public, leave no ground for tillage; they enclose all in pastures; they throw down houses; they pluck down towns, and leave nothing standing but only the church, to make of it a sheep-house. And, as though you lost no small quantity of ground by forests, chases, launds, and parks; those good holy men turn all dwelling-places and all glebeland into desolation and wilderness. Therefore that one covetous and insatiable cormorant and very plague of his native country may compass about and enclose many thousand acres of ground together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of their own; or else either by covin and fraud, or by violent oppression, they be put besides it, or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied that they be compelled to sell all. By one means therefore or by other, either by hook or crook, they must needs depart away, poor, silly, wretched souls; men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers with their young babes, and their whole household small in substance, and much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands. Away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. All their household stuff, which is very little worth, though it might well abide the sale, yet being suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have, wandering about, soon spent that, what can they else do but steal, and then justly, God wot, be hanged, or else go about a begging? And yet then also they be cast in prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not: whom no man will set a-work, though they never so willingly offer themselves thereto. For one shepherd or herdsman is enough to eat up that ground with

17 noying] hurting 22 launds] pasture. 30 covin] plot, conspiracy.

cattle, to the occupying whereof about husbandry many hands were requisite.'

Utopia.
SIR THOMAS MORE (1478–1535).

II

My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went unto Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound, or twenty nobles apiece; so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did of the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound by year, or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor.

Sermons.
HUGH LATIMER (? 1485–1555).

III

1598

An Act for the Maintenance of Husbandry and Tillage.

Whereas the strength and flourishing estate of this kingdom is greatly upheld and advanced by the maintenance of the plough and tillage, being the occasion of

59 harness] armour.

the increase and multiplying of people both for service in the wars and in times of peace, being also a principal mean that people are set on work and thereby withdrawn from idleness, drunkenness, unlawful games and all other lewd practices; and whereas by the same means the greater part of the subjects are preserved from extreme poverty and the wealth of the realm is kept dispersed and distributed in many hands . . . Be it enacted, That whereas any lands since the seventeenth of November in the first year of her Majesty's reign have been converted to sheep-pastures or to the fatting or grazing of cattle, the same lands having been tillable lands by the space of twelve years together at the least next before such conversion, all such lands shall before the first day of May, 1599, be restored to tillage and so shall be continued for ever.

And be it further enacted, That all lands which now are used in tillage, having been tillable lands by the space of twelve years together at the least, shall not be converted to any sheep-pasture or to the grazing or fatting of cattle, but shall continue to be used in tillage for corn and grain and not for woad.

Statutes and Constitutional Documents.
G. W. PROTHERO.

62. *Blackheath field.* In 1497, when the Cornish rebellion was put down.
98. *woad.* A plant from which a blue dye is extracted.

CAUSES OF CRIME

1516

It chanced on a certain day, when I sat at his table, there was also a certain layman, cunning in the laws of your realm. Who, I cannot tell whereof taking occasion, began diligently and busily to praise that strait and rigorous justice which at that time was there executed

81 lewd] base.

upon felons, who, as he said, were for the most part twenty hanged together upon one gallows. And, seeing so few escaped punishment, he said he could not choose but greatly wonder and marvel, how and by what evil luck it should so come to pass that thieves nevertheless were in every place so rife and so rank. 'Nay sir,' quoth I (for I durst boldly speak my mind before the Cardinal), 'marvel nothing hereat; for this punishment of thieves passeth the limits of justice, and is also very hurtful to the weal public. For it is too extreme and cruel a punishment for theft, and yet not sufficient to refrain and withhold men from theft. For simple theft is not so great an offence, that it ought to be punished with death. Neither is there any punishment so horrible, that it can keep them from stealing which have no other craft whereby to get their living. Therefore in this point, not you only, but also the most part of the world, be like evil schoolmasters, which be readier to beat than to teach their scholars. For great and horrible punishments be appointed for thieves; whereas much rather provision should have been made, that there were some means whereby they might get their living, so that no man should be driven to this extreme necessity, first to steal, and then to die.'

'Yes' (quoth he), 'this matter is well enough provided for already. There be handicrafts, there is husbandry, to get their living by, if they would not willingly be nought.' 'Nay,' quoth I, 'you shall not escape so; for, first of all, I will speak nothing of them that come home out of the wars maimed and lame, as not long ago out of Blackheath field, and a little before that out of the wars in France; such, I say, as put their lives in jeopardy for the weal public's or the king's sake, and by reason of weakness and lameness be not able to occupy their old crafts, and be too aged to learn new: of them I will speak nothing, because war, like the tide, ebbeth and floweth. But let us consider those things that chance daily before our eyes.

'First, there is a great number of gentlemen, which

cannot be content to live idle themselves, like *dorres*, of that which other have laboured for: their tenants, I mean, whom they poll and shave to the quick by *raising their rents* (for this only point of frugality do they use men, else through their lavish and prodigal spending able to bring themselves to very beggary): these gentlemen, I say, do not only live in idleness themselves, but also carry about with them at their tails a great flock or train of idle and loitering serving-men, which never learned any craft whereby to get their livings. These men, as soon as their master is dead, or they be sick themselves, be incontinent thrust out of doors. For gentlemen had rather keep idle persons than sick men; and many times the dead man's heir is not able to maintain so great a house and keep so many serving-men, as his father did. Then in the mean season they that be thus destitute of service either starve for hunger, or manfully play the thieves. For what would you have them to do? When they have wandered abroad so long, until they have worn threadbare their apparel and also appaired their health, then, gentlemen, because of their pale and sickly faces and patched coats, will not take them into service. And husbandmen dare not set them a-work, knowing well enough that he is nothing meet to do true and faithful service to a poor man with a spade and a mattock, for small wages and hard fare which, being daintily and tenderly pampered up in idleness and pleasure was wont with a sword and a buckler by his side to jet through the street with a bragging look, and to think himself too good to be any man's mate.'

Utopia.

13. *the Cardinal.* Cardinal Morton (d. 1500), who trained Sir Thomas More.

36. *Blackheath field.* See note to p. 90, l. 62.

37. *wars in France.* Edward IV invaded France in 1475, and Henry VII made war on France in 1492.

48. *raising their rents.* See the extract from Latimer's *Sermons*, p. 90, ll. 55 and 70.

45 *dorres*] drones. 65 appaired] injured. 74 jet] strut.

WOLSEY'S JOURNEY FROM LONDON TO PETERBOROUGH

1530

So that now all things being furnished towards this journey, he (Cardinal Wolsey) took the same in the beginning of Passion Week, before Easter; and so rode to a place, then the Abbot's of Westminster, called Hendon; and the next day he removed to a place called the Rye; where my lady Parrey lay; the next day he rode to Royston, and lodged in the monastery there; and the next day he removed to Huntingdon, and there lodged in the Abbey; and from thence he removed to Peterborough, and there lodged also within the Abbey, being then Palm Sunday, where he made his abode until the Thursday in Easter week, with all his train; whereof the most part went to board wages in the town, having twelve carts to carry his stuff of his own, which came from his college in Oxford, where he had threescore carts to carry such necessaries as belonged to his buildings there. Upon Palm Sunday he went in procession, with the monks, bearing his palm; setting forth God's service right honourably, with such singing men as he then had remaining with him. And upon Maundy Thursday he made his Maundy in our Lady's Chapel, having fifty-nine poor men, whose feet he washed, wiped, and kissed; each of these poor men had twelve pence in money, three ells of canvas to make them shirts, a pair of new shoes, a cast of bread, three red herrings, and three white herrings, and the odd person had two shillings. Upon Easter Day in the morning he rode to the resurrection, and that day he went in procession in his cardinal's vesture, with his hat and hood on his head, and he himself sang there the high mass very devoutly; and

granted clean remission to all the hearers; and there continued he all the holidays.

Life of Wolsey.
GEORGE CAVENDISH (1500–61).

22. *Maundy.* The ceremony of washing feet and distributing alms.
28. *the resurrection.* i. e. the Easter Day Mass.
33. *holidays.* i. e. Holy Days.

THE DEATH-BED OF WOLSEY

1530

His views on the Reformation.

And when he had ended his confession, Master Kingston bade him good-morrow; and asked him how he did. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'I tarry but the will and pleasure of God, to render unto Him my simple soul into His divine hands.' 'Not yet so, Sir,' quoth Master Kingston; 'with the grace of God, ye shall live, and do very well; if ye will be of good cheer.' . . . 'Well, well, Master Kingston,' quoth he, 'I see the matter against me how it is framed; but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. Howbeit this is the just reward that I must receive for my worldly diligence and pains that I have had to do him service; only to satisfy his vain pleasure, not regarding my godly duty. Wherefore I pray you, with all my heart, to have me most humbly commended unto his royal majesty; beseeching him in my behalf to call to his most gracious remembrance all matters proceeding between him and me from the beginning of the world unto this day, and the progress of the same: and most chiefly in the weighty matter yet depending (meaning the matter newly began between him and good Queen Katherine); then shall his conscience declare, whether I have offended him or no. He is

sure a prince of a royal courage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will either miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the loss of one half of his realm in danger. For I assure you I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber on my knees, the space of an hour or two, to persuade him from his will and appetite: but I could never bring to pass to dissuade him therefrom. Therefore, Master Kingston, if it chance hereafter you to be one of his privy council, as for your wisdom and other qualities ye are meet to be, I warn you to be well advised and assured what matter ye put in his head, for ye shall never put it out again.

'And say furthermore, that I request his Grace, in God's name, that he have a vigilant eye to depress this new pernicious sect of Lutherans, that it do not increase within his dominions through his negligence, in such a sort, as that he shall be fain at length to put harness upon his back to subdue them; as the King of Bohemia did, who had good game, to see his rude commons (then infected with Wyclif's heresies) to spoil and murder the spiritual men and religious persons of his realm; the which fled to the king and his nobles for succour against their frantic rage; of whom they could get no help of defence or refuge, but they laughed them to scorn, having good game at their spoil and consumption, not regarding their duties nor their own defence. And when these erroneous heretics had subdued all the clergy and spiritual persons, taking the spoil of their riches, both of churches, monasteries, and all other spiritual things, having no more to spoil, they caught such a courage of their former liberty that then they disdained their prince and sovereign lord with all other noble personages, and the head governors of the country, and began to fall in hand with the temporal lords to slay and spoil them, without pity or mercy, most cruelly. Insomuch that the king and other his nobles were constrained to put harness upon their backs, to resist the ungodly powers

of those traitorous heretics, and to defend their lives and liberties, who pitched a field royal against them; in which field these traitors so stoutly encountered, the party of them was so cruel and vehement, that in fine they were victors, and slew the king, the lords, and all the gentlemen of the realm, leaving not one person that bare the name or port of a gentleman alive, or of any person that had any rule or authority in the commonweal. By means of which slaughter they have lived ever since in great misery and poverty without a head or governor, living all in common like wild beasts abhorred of all Christian nations. Let this be to him an evident example to avoid the like danger, I pray you.'

Life of Wolsey.

DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES

1536–9

Letters to Cromwell.

From Richard Whiting, last Abbot of Glastonbury.

1536

Right Honourable my singular good Lord.

My duty in recommendations in right humble wise remembered unto your good Lordship. Pleaseth it you to be advertised, that I have received the King's writ commanding me to come unto his Grace's High Parliament, to be held at Westminster, the 28th day of this present month of April. My good Lord, the truth is this, as knoweth our Lord God; I have been greatly diseased with divers infirmities more than this half year, insomuch that for the most part of the time, I have not been able to labour forth of my house, and I cannot ride, neither yet go well, but with the help of my staff in very great pain; by reason whereof I am

not able to do my most bounden duty unto the King's Majesty, as with my whole heart and will I would do, and that right much grieveth me as knoweth God. In consideration whereof, good my Lord, in whom is my singular trust, I heartily and right humbly beseech you, be good unto me, as ye always hitherto have been; and if your Lordship think it so to be best, it may please you of your great charity and goodness to move the King's Highness for me, that of his most abundant grace and pity, it may please his Highness most graciously to pardon me, and to be absent at this time from this his Grace's said Parliament, wherein your good Lordship may do towards me a right merciful and charitable act as knoweth God. But if the King's pleasure be so, I will be gladly carried hither in a horse-litter to accomplish his Grace's pleasure and commandment, rather than to tarry at home. My good Lord, I am not able to make recompense accordingly, otherwise than with my most hearty prayer which of my very duty, I am bounden to render unto Almighty God for the great goodness your good Lordship hath always done to me herebefore. As knoweth God, who always preserve your good Lordship in honour. At Glastonbury, the 7th day of April.

Your Lordship's Beedsman assured
Ric. Abbatt.

(Whiting was hanged in front of his own monastery after the Dissolution in 1539.)

From the Abbot of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin.

1539

Our most humble duty premised to your honourable Lordship. Please it the same to be advertised that we your Lordship's poor orators, being flexible to the King our Sovereign Lord's pleasure in all things, most humbly beseech your good Lordship to be so good

Lord unto us, as to be mean unto the King's Highness to vouchsafe, that this poor House might remain without dissolving ; changing our habit and rules, as it shall please the King's Highness to devise and command, whereunto we shall be obedient in all things. Verily we be but stewards and purveyors to other men's uses for the King's honour ; keeping hospitality and many poor men, scholars and orphans; sending men to serve the King's Highness in all postings and journeys to aid his Grace's Deputy against the enemies and rebels, and at the traitorous enterprise of Thomas Fitzgerald aided his Grace's City of Dublin with victuals for their defence as they have and will report. . . .

And we shall continue his Grace's poor orators, and pray to God for the long prosperous welfare of your Honourable Lordship, as our especial preserver, beseeching your Lordship to give credence unto the bearer on our behalf.

So committing your most honourable Lordship to the tender tuition of Almighty God. Written the last day of July.

Your humble orators, the Abbot and Convent of our Lady's House nigh Dublin.

State Papers of Henry VIII.

Furness Abbey.

Translation of the Deed of Surrender.

1537

To all the faithful in Christ, to whom these presents shall come, I, Roger, by the providence of God, Abbot of the monastery of St. Mary of Furness, in the County of Lancaster, and the convent of the same send greeting, goodwill, and benediction in the Lord. Know Ye, that we the said Abbot and convent with our unanimous and full assent and consent, particularly for divers special considerations moving us interiorly thereto, and also for the use and defence of this king-

dom, and for the good and safe government of this distant portion of the realm aforesaid, have freely given, granted, and surrendered up into the hands of the lord and King, that now is, Henry VIII, by the grace of God, king of England and France, defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and head upon earth of the Anglican Church, have surrendered our monastery of Furness aforesaid, and also the site and foundation of the same, and all the goods, chattels, jewels, and church ornaments of the same, and also the debts, actions, and other things whatsoever, unto us, or any of us, or unto the said monastery, appertaining, belonging or owing, and also all manner of domains, castles, manors, lands, tenements, advowsons of churches and chantries, knights' fees, rents, reversions, liberties, and services, with all our hereditaments whatsoever, in the counties of York and Lancaster, or elsewhere in the realm of England and Ireland and in the Isle of Man, to have and to hold. . . .

In witness whereof we have, with our unanimous and full assent and consent, affixed our common seal to these presents. Given in the Chapter House of our said monastery, the ninth day of April, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of our said lord the King, and in the year of our Lord and Saviour, 1537.

By me, Roger, Abbot of Furness. By me, Brian Garner, Prior. By me, John Thornton, &c. &c.

Guide-book to Furness Abbey.

Extract from Commissioners' Report to Cromwell on Glastonbury.

1539

We have daily found and tried out both money and plate hid and buried up in walls, vaults, and other secret places, as well by the abbot as other of the convent, and also conveyed to divers places in the country. And in case we should here tarry this fort-

night, we do suppose daily to increase in plate and other goods by false knaves conveyed.

At our first entry into the treasure-house and vestry also, we neither found jewels, plate, nor ornaments sufficient to serve a poor parish church, whereof we could not a little marvel. After a diligent search in every corner of the monastery, they at length found all the plate and ornaments of the church and another sum of money, how much they could not tell, but were sure it was of considerable value, and they felt certain there was more. They declared the abbot and monks had stolen and hid as much plate and ornaments as would have sufficed to have begun a new abbey. 'What they meant thereby we leave it to your judgement.' They then inquire what is to be done with these four persons, and add that the house was great, goodly and princely, such as they had never seen the like, with four parks adjoining, the furthermost of them but four miles from the house, a great mere five miles in compass, well replenished with pike, bream, perch, and roach; four fair manor houses, the furthermost being only three miles distant, and one in Dorsetshire, twenty miles distant. They then discharged the servants with a half-year's wages, the monks also with a small sum and pensions according to the scale laid down, who, they said, were glad to go, and were grateful for the King's kindness. They were about to sell the cattle for ready money, and let out the pastures and demesnes from Michaelmas, quarterly, in order that the King might lose no rent, for the abbot had much pasture land in his hands.

State Papers of Henry VIII.

Bury St. Edmunds.

When the royal commissioners came on behalf of the said Edward VI to gather in these spoils at Bury, they were asked to forward to the authorities in London the following plea for pity: 'It is to be considered that

the said town of Bury is a great and populous town, having in it two parish churches, and in the parishes of the same above the number of 3,000 houseling persons, and a great number of youth. And the king's majesty hath all the tithes and all the profits yearly coming and growing within the same parishes, finding two parish priests there. And the said two parish priests are not able to serve and discharge the said cures without the aid and help of other priests. And further, there is no school, nor other like foundation, within the said town, nor within twenty miles of it, for the virtuous education and bringing up of youth, nor any hospital or other like foundation for the comfort and relief of the poor, of which there is an exceeding great number within the said town other than what are before mentioned, of which the said incumbents do now take the whole yearly revenues and profits, and distribute no part thereof to the aid and comfort or relief of the said poor people.

'In consideration whereof it may please the king's majesty of his most charitable benignity, moved with pity in that behalf, to convert the revenues and profits of the sum of the said promotions into some godly foundation, whereby the said poor inhabitants, daily there multiplying, may be relieved, and the youth instructed and brought up virtuously, or otherwise, according to his most godly and discreet wisdom, and the inhabitants shall daily pray to God for the prosperous preservation of his most excellent majesty, long to endure.'

It is hardly necessary to say that the petition had no effect. At Bury, as indeed all over England, the claims of the sick and poor were disregarded and the money passed into the possession of the Crown. The hospitals that mediaeval charity had erected and supported were destroyed; the youth remained untaught; the poor were deprived of the charity which had been,

147 houseling persons] communicants.

as it was supposed, secured to them for ever by the wills of generations of Catholic benefactors; the poor prisoners in the jail at Bury had to go without their Sunday Mass and their winter fire; whilst the money that had hitherto supported chaplains and chantry priests to assist the parish priests in the care of their districts was taken by the Crown.

The Eve of the Reformation.
FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET.

39. *Beedsman.* One who prays for the spiritual welfare of another.
43. *orators.* Men who pray; cf. 'beedsman', above, p. 98.
54. *postings.* Warlike expeditions.
91. *advowsons.* Rights of presentation to livings.
92. *reversions.* Rights of inheritance.

MIRACLE PLAYS

Dramatic representation of the chief events in the life of our Lord, &c., were commonly so associated with the religious purposes for which they were originally produced, that they were played on Sundays and feast-days, and not infrequently in churches, church porches, and churchyards. 'Spectacles, plays, and dances that are used on great feasts,' says the author of *Dives et Pauper*, 'as they are done principally for devotion and honest mirth, and to teach men to love God the more, are lawful if the people be not thereby hindered from God's service, nor from hearing God's word, and provided that in such spectacles and plays there is mingled no error against the faith of Holy Church and good living. All other plays are prohibited, both on holidays and work days (according to the law), upon which the gloss saith that the representation in plays at Christmas of Herod and the Three Kings, and other pieces of the Gospel, both then and at Easter and other times, is lawful and commendable.'

The Eve of the Reformation.

Expenses of production.

1490

This is the expense of the first rehearsal of our players in Easter week:

Item: paid at the Second Rehearsal in Whitsun week, in bread, ale, and Kechyn . . 2/4.

Item for drinking at the pageant in having forth in wine and ale . . . . . 7*d*.

Item for 9 gallons of ale . . . . 1/6.

Item for a Rib of Beef and 1 goose . . 6*d*.

Item for a Rib of Beef . . . . . 3*d*.

Item for a quart of wine . . . . . 2*d*.

Paid to the players for Corpus Christi day:

Imprimis to God . . . . . 2/-.

Item to Caiaphas . . . . . 3/4.

Item to Herod . . . . . 3/4.

Item to Pilot his wife . . . . . 2/-.

Item to the Beadle . . . . . 4*d*.

Item to one of the Knights . . . . 2/-.

Item to the devil and to Judas . . . 1/6.

Item to Peter and Malchus . . . . 1/4.

Item to Anna . . . . . 2/2.

Item to Pilate 4/-

Item to Pilate's son . . . . . 4*d*.

Item to another Knight . . . . . 2/-.

Item to the Minstrel . . . . . 1/2.

Dissertation on the Coventry Mysteries.
THOMAS SHARP (1770–1841).

Selecting the Players, York Mysteries.

In 1476 it was ordained:

That yearly in the time of Lent there shall be called before the mayor for the time being, four of the most cunning, discreet and able players within this city, to search, hear, and examine all the players and plays and pageants throughout all the artificers belonging to the Corpus Christi Play. And all such as they shall

24 Kechyn] kitchen.

find sufficient in person and cunning, to the honour of the city and worship of the said Crafts, for to admit, and able; and all other insufficient persons, either in cunning, voice, or person to discharge, remove, and avoid.

And that no player that shall play in the said Corpus Christi Play, be conducted and retained to play but twice on the day of the said play (i. e. shall not take more than two different characters); and that he or they so playing, play not over twice the said day, upon pain of 40*s.* to forfeit unto the chamber as often times as he or they shall be found default in the same.

English Miracle Plays.
A. W. POLLARD.

(The festival of Corpus Christi is held on June 6th.)

Presentation of the Plays.

Every company had his pageant, or part, which pageants were a high scaffold with two rooms, a higher and a lower, upon four wheels. In the lower they apparelled themselves, and in the higher room they played, being all open on the top, that all beholders might hear and see them. The places where they played them was in every street. They began first at the Abbey Gates, and when the first pageant was played it was wheeled to the high cross before the mayor, and so to every street; and so every street had a pageant playing before them at one time, till all the pageants for the day appointed were played: and when one pageant was near ended, word was brought from street to street, that so they might come in place thereof exceeding orderly, and all the streets have their pageants before them all at one time playing together; to see which plays was great resort, and also scaffolds and stages made in the streets in those places where they determined to play their pageant.

ARCHDEACON RICHARD ROGERS
(1532 ?–1597).

(These plays were often undertaken by the members of the various gilds of a town, e. g. Coventry and York.)

DISSOLUTION OF THE GILDS

1547

(The gilds were dissolved by Henry VIII and Edward VI, unless they could prove they were trading gilds, as was the case with the London Companies.)

The gild of the Holy Trinity, Parish of St. Nicholas, Worcester.

Extract from the report of the Commissioners appointed by Henry VIII.

There is a house called the Trinity Hall, with certain lands and tenements belonging to the said Gild, to the clear yearly value of £13 17*s.* 10*d.*, which hath been always employed, as it was presented before the King's Majesty's Commissioners there, to the maintenance of one schoolmaster there, to teach freely grammar, £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; and to divers poor people, inhabiting in twenty-four cottages or Alms-houses adjoining to the Trinity Hall there, 107*s.* 4*d.*, as aforesaid. And so remaineth of the said sum but 37*s.* 2*d.*; which sum, the presenters did confirm to be not sufficient for the yearly repairing of the said hall, cottages and Alms-houses.

Memorandum that John Oliver, Clerk, is now schoolmaster there, and hath yearly ten marks for his wages.

[At the side of the foregoing is written, in the original, but in a different hand, the following note:]

Continue doles to the poor: for the school may cease, for there is one other in the town, of the king's foundation, and this is no school of any purpose, as is credibly said.

[Toulmin Smith remarks that the school 'of the king's foundation' was for forty scholars only; whereas, this school of

15 mark]=13*s.* 4*d.*

St. Nicholas had more than one hundred scholars years after Henry VIII's school had been founded (out of part of the proceeds of the plunder of the monasteries).

'But the teaching of the youth of Worcester was of course a matter of too small importance to be allowed to interfere with the designs of those needy men who were bent on seizing the property of the gilds to their own uses.'

The following extract from the report of Edward VI's Commissioners in 1547 will make it clearer:]

Memorandum: it was presented by John Callow, Master of the said Gild, Thomas Wild and Richard Dedycote, bailiffs of the said City, Robert Yowlle, alderman of the same City, Thomas Parton, citizen, and the Stewards or Wardens of the said Gild, that there hath been, time out of mind, a free school kept within the said City, in a great Hall belonging to the said gild, called the Trinity Hall; the Schoolmaster whereof for the time being hath had yearly, for his stipend, ten pounds; whereof was paid, out of the revenues of the said lands, by the Master and Stewards of the said Gild for the time being, £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; And the residue of the said stipend was collected and gathered of the devotion and benevolence of the brothers and sisters of the said Gild. And further it was presented, that, by the space of four or five years or more, the walls of the said City and one great stone bridge with ten Arches within the same City called Severn Bridge, and the said tenements, houses, and cottages, belonging to the said Gild, were ruinous and in great decay. By reason whereof they lost the keeping of the said Schoolmaster by the said space of four or five years or more; and employed and bestowed the said money, that did use to find the said Schoolmaster, to the necessary reparations of the said walls, bridges, houses, tenements, and cottages. And, the same being repaired, they, before the feast of St. Michael the Archangel last past, provided and have found an honest learned Schoolmaster within the said hall, in like manner as they before time did; that is to say, one John Oliver, Bachelor of Arts; who hath

there at this present time above the number of a hundred scholars.

The English Gilds.

(Not a trace of this great school of the gild of St. Nicholas has remained.)

THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION

1548

Wishart.

(George Wishart was a leader and martyr in the Scottish Reformation. He was the first to form Kirks or Congregations apart from the old religion.)

1545. Coming unto Dundee, [where the plague was raging] the joy of the faithful was exceeding great. He delayed no time, but even upon the morn gave signification that he would preach. And because the most part were either sick, or else were in company with them that were sick, he chose the head of the east port of the town for his preaching-place, and so the whole stood or sat within, the sick and suspected without the port. The text upon the which his first sermon was made, he took from the hundred and seventh psalm; the sentence thereof, 'He sent his word and healed them;' and therewith joined these words, 'It is neither herb nor plaster, O Lord, but thy word heals all.' . . .

By the which sermon he raised up the hearts of all that heard him that they regarded not death, but judged them more happy that should depart, than such as should remain behind. Considering that they knew not if they should have such a comforter with them at all times, he spared not to visit them that lay in the very extremity. He comforted them as that he might

7 port] gate.

in such a multitude; he caused minister all things necessary to them that might use meat and drink, and in that point was to the town wondrous beneficial, for the poor were no more neglected than were the rich.

(At length he was captured by the agents of Cardinal Beaton, tried, and condemned to death at St. Andrews.)

When the fire was made ready, and the gallows at the west part of the castle, near to the priory, my lord cardinal dreading that Mr. George should have been taken away by his friends, therefore, he commanded to bend all the ordnance of the castle right against the place of execution, and commanded all his gunners to be ready, and stand beside their guns, unto such time as he were burnt. All this being done, they bound Mr. George's hands behind his back, and led him forth with their soldiers, from the castle to the place of their cruel and wicked execution. As he came forth of the castle gate, there met him certain beggars asking of him alms for God's sake. To whom he answered, 'I want my hands, wherewith I had wont to give you alms, but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundant grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessaries both unto your bodies and souls.'

After this he was led to the fire, with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle. When that he came to the fire he sat down upon his knees, and rose up again; and thrice he said these words, 'O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me: Father of Heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands.'

Many faithful words said he in the meantime, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments which were then prepared for him. Then, last of all, the hangman that was his tormentor, sat down upon his knees, and said, 'Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death.' To whom he answered, 'Come hither to me.' When he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, 'Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee; my

heart, do thy office;' and then, by and by, he was put upon the gibbet and hanged and there burnt to powder. When that the people beheld the great tormenting of that innocent, they might not withhold from piteous mourning, and complaining of that innocent lamb's slaughter. After the death of this blessed martyr of God, began the people in plain speaking to damn and detest the cruelty that was used; yea, men of great birth, estimation and honour, at open tables avowed, 'That the blood of the said Mr. George should be revenged, or else they should lose life for life.'

Murder of Cardinal Beaton.

(On the 29th of May, 1546, the avengers of Wishart's death and others broke into the Cardinal's palace at St. Andrews.)

While they force at the door, the cardinal hides a box of gold under coals that were laid in a secret corner. At length he asketh, 'Will ye save my life?' The said John Leslie answered, 'It may be that we will.' 'Nay,' says the cardinal, 'swear unto me by God's wounds, and I shall open unto you.' Then answered the said John, 'It that was said, is unsaid;' and so he cried, 'Fire, fire,' for the door was very strong, and so was brought a grate full of burning coals, which perceived, the cardinal or his chamber-child—it is uncertain—opened the door, and the cardinal sat down in a chair, and cried, 'I am a priest, I am a priest, ye will not slay me.' The said John Leslie, according to his former vows, struck him once or twice, and so did the said Peter; but James Melvin, a man of nature most gentle and most modest, perceiving them both in choler, withdrew them, and said, 'This work and judgement of God, although it be secret, yet ought to be done with greater gravity.' And presenting unto him the point of the sword, said, 'Repent thee of thine former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr. George Wishart, which albeit the flame of fire

consumed before man, yet cries it a vengeance upon thee, and we from God are sent to revenge it; for here before my God, I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have done to me in particular, moved, or moveth me to strike thee; but only because thou hast been, and remainest an obstinate enemy to Jesus Christ and his holy evangel.' And so he struck him twice or thrice through with a stoge: and so he fell, never word heard out of his mouth, but 'I am a priest, I am a priest, fie, fie, all is gone!'

While they were thus occupied with the cardinal. the fray rises in the town; the provost assembles the commonalty, and comes to the fosse's side, crying, 'What have ye done with my lord cardinal? Where is my lord cardinal? Have ye slain my lord cardinal? Let us see my lord cardinal.' They that were within answered gently, 'The best it were to you to return to your own houses; for the man you call the cardinal has received his reward, and in his own person will trouble the world no more.' But then more enragedly, they cried, 'We shall never depart till that we see him.' And so was he brought to the east Block-house-head, and shown dead over the wall to the faithless multitude, which would not believe before that it saw.

History of the Reformation in Scotland.
JOHN KNOX (1505-72).

Destruction of the Monasteries at Perth.

1550

It chanced that the next day, which was the 11th of May, after that the preachers were exiled, that after the sermon, which was vehement against idolatry, that a priest in contempt would go to the mass; and to declare his malapert presumption, he would open up a glorious tabernacle which stood upon the high altar.

100 stoge] dagger.

There stood beside certain godly men, and amongst others a young boy, who cried with a loud voice, 'This is intolerable, that when God by his word hath plainly damned idolatry, we shall stand and see it used in despite.' The priest hereat offended, gave the child a great blow; who in anger took up a stone, and casting at the priest, did hit the tabernacle, and brake down an image; and immediately the whole multitude that were about cast stones, and put hands to the said tabernacle, and to all other monuments of idolatry, which they dispatched, before the tenth man in the town were advertised; for the most part were gone to dinner. Which noised abroad, the whole multitude convened, not of the gentlemen, neither of them that were earnest professors, but of the rascal multitude, who finding nothing to do in that church, did run without deliberation to the Grey and Black friars; and notwithstanding that they had within them very stark guards kept for their defence, yet were their gates incontinent burst up. The first invasion was upon the idolatry; and thereafter the common people began to seek some spoil. And in very deed the Greyfriars was a place so well provided, that unless honest men had seen the same he would have feared to report what provision they had; their sheets, blankets, beds, and coverlets were such, that no earl in Scotland had the better; their napery was fine; they were but eight persons in convent, and yet had eight puncheons of salt beef, consider the time of the year—the 11th of May,—wine, beer, and ale, besides store of victuals corresponding thereto. The like abundance was not in the Blackfriars and yet there was more than became men professing poverty. The spoil was not permitted to the poor; for so had the preachers before threatened all men, that for covetousness' sake none should put their hand to such a reformation, that no honest man was enriched thereby the value of a groat. Their conscience

140 stark] strong.

so moved them, that they suffered these hypocrites to take away what they could, of that which was in their places. The prior of Charterhouse was permitted to take with him even so much gold and silver as he was well able to carry. So were men's consciences before beaten with the word, that they had no respect to their own particular profit, but only to abolish idolatry, the places and monuments thereof; in which they were so busy and so laborious, that within two days these three great places, monuments of idolatry, to wit, the Black and Grey friars, and the Charterhouse monks, a building of a wondrous cost and greatness, was so destroyed, that the walls only did remain of all these great edifications.

History of the Reformation in Scotland.

150. *puncheons.* Large casks holding from 72 to 120 gallons.

SCOTTISH EDUCATION

Sixteenth Century

(The following extracts are from the *First Book of Discipline*, drawn up in 1560 by John Knox and five others. This book recommended what should be the government, worship, and doctrine of the Scottish Reformed Church.)

Schools.

Of necessity thereof we judge it, that every several kirk have one schoolmaster appointed, such a one at least as is able to teach grammar and the Latin tongue, if the town be of any reputation: if it be upland where the people convene to the doctrine but once in the week, then must either the reader or the minister there appointed take care of the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in the first rudiments, especially in the Catechism, as we have it now translated in the Book of the Common Order, called the Order of Geneva. And further, we think it expedient, that in every notable town, and especially in the town of the super-

4 upland] in the country.

intendent, there be erected a college, in which the arts, at least logic and rhetoric, together with the tongues, be read by sufficient masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed: as also that provision be made for those that are poor, and not able by themselves nor by their friends to be sustained at letters, and in special those that come from landward.

Compulsory Education.

The rich and potent may not be permitted to suffer their children to spend their youth in vain idleness, as heretofore they have done. But they must be exhorted, and by the censure of the kirk compelled to dedicate their sons, by training them up in good exercises, to the profit of the kirk and commonwealth, and that they must do of their own expenses, because they are able. The children of the poor must be supported and sustained on the charge of the kirk, trial being taken whether the spirit of docility be in them found or not. If they be found apt to learning and letters, then may they not—we mean, neither the sons of the rich, nor yet of the poor—be permitted to reject learning, but must be charged to continue their study, so that the commonwealth may have some comfort by them: and for this purpose must discreet, grave, and learned men be appointed to visit schools for the trial of their exercise, profit, and continuance; to wit, the minister and elders, with the best learned men in every town, shall in every quarter make examination how the youth have profited.

Disposal of Monastic Property.

(See pp. 102–3.)

With the grief of our hearts we hear, that some gentlemen are now as cruel over their tenants as ever were the papists, requiring of them the teinds and

43 teinds] tithes.

whatsoever they before paid to the kirk, so that the papistical tyranny shall only be changed into the tyranny of the lord and laird. We dare not flatter your honours, neither yet is it profitable for you that we so do: for neither shall we, if we permit cruelty to be used, neither shall ye, who by your authority ought to gainstand such oppression, nor yet they that use the same, escape God's heavy and fearful judgements. The gentlemen, barons, earls, lords, and others, must be content to live upon their just rents and suffer the kirk to be restored to her right and liberty; that by her restitution, the poor, who heretofore, by the cruel papists have been spoiled and oppressed, may now receive some comfort and relaxation, that their teinds and other exactions be clean discharged, and no more taken in times coming.

'UNPREACHING PRELATES'

1549

I heard of a bishop of England that went on visitation, and as it was the custom, when the bishop should come, and be rung into the town, the great bell's clapper was fallen down, the tyall was broken, so that the bishop could not be rung into the town. There was a great matter made of this, and the chief of the parish were much blamed for it, in the visitation. The bishop was somewhat quick with them, and signified that he was much offended. They made their answers, and excused themselves, as well as they could: 'It was a chance', said they, 'that the clapper brake, and we could not get it mended by and by, we must tarry till we can have it done. It shall be amended as shortly as may be.'

Among the other, there was one wiser than the rest, and he comes me to the bishop: 'Why, my lord,' saith he, 'doth your lordship make so great a matter

of the bell that lacketh his clapper? Here is a bell', said he, and pointed to the pulpit, 'that hath lacked a clapper this twenty years. We have a parson that fetcheth out of this benefice fifty pound every year, but we never see him.' I warrant you, the bishop was an unpreaching prelate. He could find fault with the bell that wanted a clapper to ring him into the town, but he could not find any fault with the parson that preached not at his benefice. Ever this office of preaching hath been least regarded, it hath scant had the name of God's service. They must sing '*Salve festa dies*', about the church, that no man was the better for it, but to show their gay coats and garments.

I came once myself to a place, riding on a journey homeward from London, and I sent word over night into the town that I would preach there in the morning, because it was holiday, and methought it was an holiday's work. The church stood in my way, and I took my horse and my company, and went thither. I thought I should have found a great company in the church, and when I came there, the church door was fast locked. I tarried there half an hour and more; at last the key was found, and one of the parish comes to me and says, 'Sir, this is a busy day with us, we cannot hear you; it is Robin Hood's day. The parish are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hood: I pray you let them not.' I was fain there to give place to Robin Hood: I thought my rochet should have been regarded, though I were not; but it would not serve, it was fain to give place to Robin Hood's men. It is no laughing matter, my friends, it is a weeping matter, a heavy matter; under the pretence of gathering for Robin Hood, a traitor, and a thief, to put out a preacher, to have his office less esteemed; to prefer Robin Hood before the ministration of God's word: and all this hath come of unpreaching prelates. This realm hath been ill provided for, that it hath had

44 let] hinder. 45 rochet] bishop's vestment or surplice.

such corrupt judgements in it, to prefer Robin Hood to God's word. If the bishops had been preachers there should never have been any such thing: but we have good hope of better. We have had a good beginning: I beseech God to continue it! But I tell you, it is far wide that the people have such judgements; the bishops they could laugh at it. What was that to them? They would have them to continue in their ignorance still, and themselves in unpreaching prelacy.

Sermons before Edward VI.
HUGH LATIMER (?1485–1555).

4. *tyall.* Part of the machinery for ringing a church bell.

EDUCATION OF LADY JANE GREY

c. 1550

Parents and Children in the Sixteenth Century.

And one example, whether love or fear doth work more in a child, for virtue and learning, I will gladly report: which may be heard with some pleasure, and followed with more profit. Before I went into Germany, I came to Broadgate in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble Lady Jane Grey to whom I was exceeding much beholding. Her parents, the Duke and Duchess, with all the household, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, were hunting in the Park. I found her in her Chamber, reading Plato's *Phaedo* in Greek, and that with as much delight, as some gentleman would read a merry tale in *Boccaccio*. After salutation and duty done, with some other talk, I asked her, why she would lose such pastime in the Park? Smiling, she answered me: 'I wis all their sport in the Park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato: Alas, good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant.' 'And how came you, Madame,' quoth I, 'to

7 beholding] beholden. 15 I wis] truly.

this deep knowledge of pleasure, and what did chiefly allure you unto it: seeing not many women, but very few men have attained thereunto?' 'I will tell you,' quoth she, 'and tell you a truth, which perchance ye will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me, is, that he sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For when I am in presence of either father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry, or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world, or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea presently sometimes, with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways, which I will not name for the honour I bear them, so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing, whilst I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because, whatsoever I do else but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me: And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me.' I remember this talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of memory, and because also, it was the last talk that ever I had, and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy Lady.

The Schoolmaster.
ROGER ASCHAM (1515–68).

12. *Boccaccio.* (1313–75) Author of the *Decameron.*

STATUTE OF APPRENTICES

1563

(An Act to secure good workmanship by insisting on apprenticeship, to provide work for the unemployed, and to obtain for labourers a rate of pay that was to be fixed annually by local justices of the peace and 'other discreet men' who knew the wants and conditions of their district.

The preamble of the Act refers to the failure of Government in past times to fix a general rate of pay satisfactory to workmen. The Statutes of Labourers of the fourteenth century did not allow for a rise in prices.)

II. 'No person after the aforesaid last day of September shall be retained, hired or taken into service to work *for any less time than for one whole year* in any of the sciences or arts of clothiers, woollen-cloth weavers, tuckers, fullers, cloth workers, shearmen, dyers, hosiers, tailors, shoemakers, tanners, pewterers, bakers, brewers, glovers, cutlers, smiths, farriers, curriers, saddlers, spurriers, turners, cappers, hatmakers or feltmakers, bowyers, fletchers, arrow-head-makers, butchers, cooks, or millers.'

IV. 'No person which shall retain any servant shall put away his said servant, and no person retained according to this Statute shall depart from his master, mistress or dame before the end of his term, upon the pain hereafter mentioned, unless it be for some reasonable cause to be allowed before two Justices of Peace, and no such master shall put away any such servant at the end of his term, or any such servant depart from his said master at the end of his term, without one quarter warning given, upon the pain hereafter ensuing.'

VII. 'None of the said retained persons in husbandry or in any of the arts or sciences above remembered, after the time of his retainer expired, shall depart forth of one city, town or parish to another,

5 tuckers] fullers. 9 fletchers] arrow-makers.

nor out of the hundred nor out of the county where he last served, to serve in any other city or county, unless he have a testimonial under the seal of the said city or of the constable or other head officer and of two other honest householders of the city, town or parish where he last served, declaring his lawful departure, which testimonial shall be delivered unto the said servant and also registered by the parson of the parish where such master shall dwell.'

[VIII. Penalty on a servant departing without such testimonial: imprisonment or whipping; on any one hiring him, £5.]

IX. 'All artificers and labourers being hired for wages by the day or week, shall betwixt the midst of the months of March and September be at their work at or before 5 of the clock in the morning, and continue at work until betwixt 7 and 8 of the clock at night, except it be in the time of breakfast, dinner or drinking, the which times at the most shall not exceed above 2½ hours in the day, and all the said artificers and labourers between the midst of September and the midst of March shall be at their work from the spring of the day in the morning until the night of the same day, except it be in time afore appointed for breakfast and dinner, upon pain to forfeit one penny for every hour's absence to be deducted out of his wages.'

XI. This clause orders justices of the peace of every shire, and the mayor of every city to meet soon after Easter of each year, 'and calling unto them such discreet and grave persons of the said county or city as they shall think meet, and conferring together respecting the plenty or scarcity of the time,' to fix the wages of labourers; the different rates of wages shall then be proclaimed in open market upon the market day before Michaelmas.

XV. 'Provided that in the time of hay or corn harvest the Justices of Peace and also the constable or other head officer of every township upon request

may cause all such artificers and persons as be meet to labour, to serve by the day for the mowing or inning of corn, grain and hay, and that none of the said persons shall refuse so to do, upon pain to suffer imprisonment in the stocks by the space of two days and one night.'

XXIV. 'It shall not be lawful for any person to exercise any art or manual occupation or craft except he shall have been brought up therein seven years at the least as apprentice, nor to set any person on work except he shall have been apprentice.'

XXVI. 'For three apprentices one journeyman shall be employed, and for every other apprentice above that number one other journeyman.'

Statutes and Constitutional Documents.

ACT FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF VAGABONDS

1572

1. Whereas all the parts of this realm of England and Wales be presently with rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars exceedingly pestered, by means whereof daily happeneth in the same realm horrible murders, thefts and other great outrages, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, and to the great annoy of the commonweal. . . .

2. Be it enacted first, That all persons above the age of fourteen years, being hereafter set forth by this Act of Parliament to be rogues, vagabonds or sturdy beggars and taken begging in any part of this realm, or taken vagrant wandering and misordering themselves contrary to the purport of this present Act of Parliament, shall upon their apprehension be brought before one of the justices of the peace, and be presently

67 inning] harvesting.

committed to the common jail, there to remain without bail until the next sessions of the peace or general jail delivery; at which sessions or jail delivery if such person be duly convict of his or her roguish or vagabond trade of life, either by inquest of office or by the testimony of two honest and credible witnesses upon their oaths, that then immediately he or she shall be adjudged to be grievously whipped and burnt through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron; which judgement shall also presently be executed, except some honest person, valued at the last subsidy next before that time to £5 in goods or 20*s.* in lands, or else some such honest householder as by the justices of peace shall be allowed, will of his charity be contented presently to take such offender into his service for one whole year next following.

. . . . . .

5. And for the full expressing what persons shall be intended within this branch to be rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars, it is now set forth that all persons that be or utter themselves to be proctors or procurators . . . without sufficient authority . . . , and all other idle persons using subtle, crafty and unlawful games or plays, and some of them feigning themselves to have knowledge in physiognomy, palmistry or other abused sciences, and all persons being whole and mighty in body and able to labour, having not land or master nor using any lawful merchandise, craft or mystery; and all fencers, bearwards, common players in interludes and minstrels, not belonging to any baron of this realm or towards any other honourable personage of greater degree; all jugglers, pedlars, tinkers and petty chapmen; which said fencers, &c. shall wander abroad and have not licence of two justices of the peace . . . ; and all common labourers being persons able in body using loitering, and refusing to

20 inquest of office] inquiry by the king's officer. 30 presently] immediately. 35 proctors, procurators] agents. 47 chapmen] hawkers.

work for such reasonable wages as is taxed and commonly given; and all counterfeiters of licences, passports and all users of the same, knowing the same to be counterfeit; and all scholars of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge that go about begging, not being authorized under the seal of the said universities; and all shipmen pretending losses by sea, other than such as shall be hereafter provided for; and all persons delivered out of jails that beg for their fees, not having licence from two justices of the peace; shall be deemed rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars.

Statutes and Constitutional Documents.

2. *vagabonds.* The dissolution of the monasteries and economic changes (see pp. 88–90) were responsible for the alarming increase of homeless and starving beggars.

39. *physiognomy.* The art of discerning the character of the mind from the features of the face.

ENFRANCHISEMENT OF VILLEINS ON THE CROWN ESTATES

1574

Queen Elizabeth to Sir William Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay.

Whereas divers and sundry of our poor faithful and loyal subjects, being born bond in blood and regardant to divers and sundry our manors and possessions within our realm of England, have made humble suit unto us to be manumised, enfranchised and made free, with their children and sequels. We therefore do name and appoint you two our commissioners and do commit unto you full power to accept to be manumised, enfranchised and made free, such and so many of our bondmen and bondwomen in blood with all their children and sequels, their goods, lands, tenements and hereditaments as are now appertaining or

regardant to any of our manors, lands, &c. within the said several counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and Gloucester, as to you shall seem meet, compounding with them for such reasonable fines or sums of money for the manumission as you and they can agree.

Statutes and Constitutional Documents.

As for slaves and bondmen, we have none, and if any come hither, so soon as they set foot on land, they become as free of condition as their masters.

Description of England.
WILLIAM HARRISON (1534-93).

DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND

1577

Diet.

In number of dishes and change of meat, the nobility of England do most exceed, since there is no day that passeth over their heads, wherein they have not only beef, mutton, veal, lamb, kid, pork, cony, capon, pig, or so many of these as the season yieldeth: but also some portion of the red or fallow deer, beside great variety of fish and wild fowl, and thereto sundry other delicates. . . . The chief part likewise of their daily provision is brought in before them commonly in silver vessels, if they be of the degree of barons, bishops and upwards, and placed on their tables, whereof, when they have taken what it pleaseth them, the rest is reserved and afterwards sent down to their serving-men and waiters, who feed thereon in like sort with convenient moderation, and their reversion also being bestowed upon the poor, which lie ready at their gates in great numbers to receive the same.

By this occasion, viz. returning the cup to the servant after drinking, much idle tippling is furthermore

cut off, for if the full pots should continually stand near the trencher, divers would always be dealing with them; whereas now they drink seldom and only when necessity urgeth, and so avoid the note of great drinking, or often troubling of the servitors with filling of their bowls. Nevertheless, in the noblemen's halls this order is not used, neither in any man's house commonly under the degree of a knight or esquire of great revenues. The gentlemen and merchant keep much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himself with four, or five or six dishes, when they have small resort, or peradventure with one or two, or three at the most, when they have no strangers to accompany them at their own table.

The artificers and husbandmen make greatest accompt of such meat as they may soonest come by, especially at bride ales, purifications of women, and such odd meetings, where it is incredible to tell what meat is consumed and spent, each one bringing such a dish, or so many, with him as his wife and he do consult upon, but always with this consideration, that the liefer friend shall have the better provision. This also is commonly seen at these banquets, that the good man of the house is not charged with anything saving bread, drink, sauce, house-room, and fire. But the artificers in cities and good towns deal far otherwise, for albeit that some of them do suffer their jaws to go oft before their claws, and divers of them making good cheer do hinder themselves and other men: yet the wiser sort can handle the matter well enough in these junketings, and therefore their frugality deserveth commendation. To conclude, both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficiently liberal, and very friendly at their tables, and when they meet, they are so merry without malice, and plain without inward Italian or French craft and subtlety, that it would do a man good to be in company among them.

41 liefer] dearer.

Houses.

There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remain, which have noted three things to be marvellously altered in England within their sound remembrance: One is, the multitude of chimneys lately erected, whereas in their young days there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm (the religious houses, and manor places of their lords always excepted, and peradventure some great personages), but each one made his fire against a reredos in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.

The second is the great, although not general amendment of lodging, for, said they, our fathers (yea and we ourselves also) have lain full oft upon straw pallets, on rough mats covered only with a sheet under coverlets made of dagswain or hopharlots (I use their own terms) and a good round log under their heads instead of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers or the goodman of the house had within seven years after his marriage purchased a mattress or flock-bed, and thereto a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lord of the town, that peradventure lay seldom in a bed of down or whole feathers; so well were they contented, and with such base kind of furniture: which also is not very much amended as yet in some parts of Bedfordshire, and elsewhere further off from our southern parts. Pillows, said they, were thought meet only for women. As for servants, if they had any sheet above them it was well, for seldom had they any under their bodies, to keep them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canvas of the pallet, and rased their hardened hides.

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of vessel, as of treen platters into pewter, and wooden

66 reredos] stone screen. 72 dagswain] rough bed-cover. hopharlots] coverlets. 89 rased] scratched. 91 treen] wooden.

spoons into silver or tin. For so common were all sorts of treen stuff in old time, that a man should hardly find four pieces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a salt) in a good farmer's house, and yet for all this frugality, if it may so be justly called, they were scarce able to live and pay their rents at their days without selling of a cow, or an horse, or more, although they paid but four pounds at the uttermost by the year.

Furniture.

The furniture of our houses also exceedeth, and is grown in manner even to passing delicacy: and herein I do not speak of the nobility and gentry only, but likewise of the lowest sort. . . . Certes in noblemen's houses it is not rare to see abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapestry, silver vessels, and so much other plate, as may furnish sundry cupboards, to the sum oftentimes of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least: whereby the value of this and the rest of their stuff doth grow to be almost inestimable. Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and some other wealthy citizens, it is not rare to behold generally their great provision of tapestry, Turkey work, pewter, brass, fine linen, and thereto costly cupboards of plate, worth five or six hundred or a thousand pounds, to be deemed by estimation. But as herein all these sorts do far exceed their elders and predecessors, and in neatness and curiosity, the merchant all other; so in time past, the costly furniture stayed there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, even unto the inferior artificers and many farmers, who by virtue of their old and not of their new leases have for the most part learned also to garnish their cupboards with plate, their joined beds with tapestry and silk hangings, and their tables with carpets and fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our country doth infinitely appear.

Description of England.
WILLIAM HARRISON (1534–93).

SCOTTISH INNS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In Scotland a horse may be hired for twopence the first day, and eightpence the day until he be brought home; and the horse-letters use to send a footman to bring back the horse. They have no such inns as be in England, but in all places some houses are known, where passengers may have meat and lodging: but they have no bushes or signs hung out, and for the horses, they are commonly set up in stables in some outlane, not in the same house where the passenger lies. And if any man be acquainted with a townsman, he will go freely to his house; for most of them will entertain a stranger for his money. A horseman shall pay for oats and straw (for hay is rare in those parts) some eightpence day and night, and he shall pay no less in summer for grass, whereof they have no great store. Himself at a common table shall pay about sixpence for his supper or dinner, and shall have his bed free; and if he will eat alone in his chamber, he may have meat at a reasonable rate.

Itinerary.
FYNES MORYSON (1566–1630).

7. *bushes.* A bunch of ivy leaves was commonly hung up as the sign of an inn.

ACT FOR THE RELIEF OF THE POOR

1598–1601

(See also pp. 282–9, *infra.*)

I. Be it enacted, That the churchwardens of every parish, and four, three or two substantial householders of the said parish, who shall be nominated yearly in Easter week under the hand and seal of two or more justices of the peace in the same county, whereof one

to be of the quorum, dwelling in or near the same parish, shall be called Overseers of the Poor of the same parish; and they shall take order from time to time with the consent of two or more such justices of the peace for setting to work of the children of all such whose parents shall not by the said persons be thought able to keep and maintain their children, and also all such persons, married or unmarried, as having no means to maintain them, use no ordinary and daily trade of life to get their living by; and also to raise, by taxation of every inhabitant and every occupier of lands in the said parish, a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron and other stuff to set the poor on work, and also competent sums of money for the necessary relief of the lame, impotent, old, blind, and such other among them being poor and not able to work, and also for putting out of such children to be apprentices, which said churchwardens and overseers shall meet together at the least once every month in the church of the said parish, upon the Sunday in the afternoon after divine service, there to consider of some good course to be taken; and shall within four days after the end of their year, . . . make and yield up to such two justices of peace a true and perfect account of all sums of money by them received upon pain that every one of them absenting themselves without lawful cause as aforesaid from such monthly meeting or being negligent in their office to forfeit for every such default 20*s.*

II. [If the parish were too poor to levy sufficient money, the justices could call upon neighbouring parishes to contribute.]

IV. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said churchwardens and overseers by the assent of any two justices of the peace to bind any such children as aforesaid to be apprentices when they shall see convenient, till such man-child shall come to the age of 24 years and such woman-child to the age of 21 years.

V. And to the intent that necessary places of habitation may more conveniently be provided for such poor impotent people, it shall be lawful for the said churchwardens and overseers by the leave of the lord or lords of the manor whereof any waste or common within their parish is parcel, to erect in fit and convenient places of habitation in such waste or common, at the general charges of the parish or otherwise of the hundred or county as aforesaid, convenient houses of dwelling for the said impotent poor.

X. And be it further enacted, That no person shall go wandering abroad and beg in any place whatsoever, by licence or without, upon pain to be taken and punished as a rogue: provided always that this present Act shall not extend to any poor people which shall ask relief of victuals only in the same parish where such poor people do dwell, so the same be according to such order as shall be made by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the same parish.

XVI. Provided that every soldier being discharged of his service and every seafaring man landing from sea, not having wherewith to relieve himself in his travel homewards, having a testimonial under the hand of some one justice of peace of the place where he was landed or was discharged, may, without incurring the penalty of this Act, ask and receive such relief as shall be necessary for his passage.

Statutes and Constitutional Documents.

LADY GREENSLEEVES

(AN ELIZABETHAN LADY'S DRESS)

1584

Greensleeves was all my joy,
Greensleeves was my delight:
Greensleeves was my hart of gold,
And who but Lady Greensleeves.

Alas, my love, ye do me wrong
To cast me off discourteously:
And I have lovèd you so long,
Delighting in your company!
Greensleeves, &c.

. . . . . .

I bought three kerchers to thy head,
That were wrought fine and gallantly:
I kept thee, both at board and bed,
Which cost my purse well-favour'dly.
Greensleeves, &c.

I bought thee petticoats of the best,
The cloth so fine as fine might be:
I gave thee jewels for thy chest;
And all this cost I spent on thee.
Greensleeves, &c.

Thy smock of silk both fair and white,
With gold embroidered gorgeously;
Thy petticoat of sendall right;
And this I bought thee gladly.
Greensleeves, &c.

Thy girdle of the gold so red,
With pearls bedeckèd sumptuously,
The like no other lasses had:
And yet thou wouldst not love me.
Greensleeves, &c.

Thy purse, and eke thy gay gilt knives,
Thy pin-case, gallant to the eye:
No better wore the burgess' wives:
And yet thou wouldst not love me!
Greensleeves, &c.

22 sendall] a thin stuff of silk or thread.

Thy crimson stockings, all of silk,
With gold all wrought above the knee;
Thy pumps as white as was the milk;
And yet thou wouldst not love me:
Greensleeves, &c.

Thy gown was of the grassy green,
Thy sleeves of satin hanging by;
Which made thee be our harvest queen:
And yet thou wouldst not love me!
Greensleeves, &c.

Thy garters fringèd with the gold,
And silver aglets hanging by;
Which made thee blithe for to behold:
And yet thou wouldst not love me!
Greensleeves, &c.

Old Ballad.

THE REVENGE

1591

A report of the truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azores, the last of August 1591, betwixt the Revenge *and an Armada of the King of Spain. Penned by the Hon. Sir Walter Raleigh.*

The Lord Thomas Howard, with six of Her Majesty's ships, six victuallers of London, the bark *Raleigh*, and two or three pinnaces, riding at anchor near unto Flores, one of the westerly Islands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoon, had intelligence by one Captain Middleton of the approach of the Spanish Armada. Which Middleton, being in a very good sailer, had kept them company three days before of good purpose, both to discover their forces

46 aglets] tags.

the more, as also to give advice to my Lord Thomas of their approach. He had no sooner delivered the news but the fleet was in sight.

Many of our ships' companies were on shore in the island; some providing ballast for their ships; others filling of water and refreshing themselves from the land with such things as they could, either for money or by force recover. . . . And, that which was most to our disadvantage, the one half part of the men of every ship sick and utterly unserviceable. For in the *Revenge* there were ninety diseased.

But Sir Richard Grenville utterly refused to turn from the enemy, alleging that he would rather choose to die than to dishonour himself, his country, and her Majesty's ship, persuading his company that he would pass through the two squadrons in despite of them, and enforce those of Seville to give him way.

In the meanwhile, as he attended those which were nearest him, the great *San Philip*, being in the wind of him and coming towards him, becalmed his sails in such sort that the ship could neither weigh nor feel the helm, so huge and high cargued was the Spanish ship, being of 1,500 tons.

After the *Revenge* was entangled with this *Philip*, four others boarded her, two on her larboard and two on her starboard. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoon continued very terribly all that evening. But the great *San Philip* having received the lower tier of the *Revenge*, discharged with crossbar shot, shifted herself with all diligence from her sides, utterly misliking her first entertainment.

After many interchanged volleys of great ordnance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the *Revenge*, and made divers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed soldiers and musketeers, but were still repulsed again and again,

31 high cargued] tall.

and at all times beaten back into their own ships or into the seas.

After the fight had thus, without intermission, continued while the day lasted and some hours of the night, many of our men were slain and hurt, and one of the great galleons of the armada sunk, and in many other of the Spanish ships great slaughter was made. Some write that Sir Richard Grenville was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight.

The Spanish ships which attempted to board the *Revenge*, as they were wounded and beaten off, so always others came in their places, she having never less than two mighty galleons by her sides, so that ere the morning, from three of the clock of the day before, there had fifteen several armadas assailed her. As the day increased, so our men decreased; and as the light grew more, by so much more grew our discomforts.

All the powder of the *Revenge*, to the last barrel, was now spent, all their pikes broken, forty of her best men slain, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight she had but one hundred free from sickness, and fourscore and ten sick laid in hold upon the ballast; a small troop to man such a ship, and a weak garrison to resist so mighty an army.

The Spanish were always supplied with soldiers brought from every squadron, all manner of arms and powder at will. Unto us there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons: her masts all beaten overboard, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper work altogether razed; and, in effect, evened she was with the water, but the very foundation or bottom of a ship, nothing being left overhead, either for flight or defence.

Sir Richard, finding himself in this distress, and unable any longer to make resistance, commanded the master-gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the ship, that thereby nothing

might remain of glory or victory to the Spaniards, seeing that in so many hours' fight and with so great a navy they were not able to take her, having had fifteen hours' time, above ten thousand men, and fifty and three sail to perform it withal; and persuaded the company or as many as he could induce, to yield themselves to God, and to the mercy of none else, but, as they had like valiant resolute men repulsed so many enemies, they should not now shorten the honour of their nation by prolonging their own lives for a few hours or a few days. The master-gunner readily condescended, and divers others; but the captain and the master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to have care of them, alleging that the Spaniard would be as ready to entertain a composition as they were willing to offer the same. . . .

Sir Richard, thus overmatched, was sent unto by Alfonso Bazan to remove out of the *Revenge*, the ship being marvellous unsavory, filled with blood and bodies of dead and wounded men, like a slaughter-house. Sir Richard answered that he might do with his body what he list, for he esteemed it not; and as he was carried out of the ship he swooned, and, reviving again, desired the company to pray for him.

The general used Sir Richard with all humanity, and left nothing unattempted that tended to his recovery, highly commending his valour and worthiness.

There were slain and drowned in this fight well near two thousand of the enemy, and two especial commanders, as the Spanish captain confesseth, besides divers others of special account, whereof as yet report is not made.

The *Admiral* and the *Ascension* of Seville were both sunk by the side of the *Revenge*; one other recovered the Road of St. Michael, and there sank

97 condescended] consented.

also; a fourth ran herself on the shore to save her men. Sir Richard died, as it is said, the second or third day, aboard the *General*, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the sea or on the land, we know not; the comfort that remaineth to his friends is that he hath ended his life honourably, in respect of the reputation won to his nation and country, and that, being dead, he hath not outlived his own honour.

Somer's *Tracts*.
WALTER RALEIGH (1552–1618).

(Grenville's last words were: 'Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do.')

125. *The General.* The flagship of the Spanish fleet.

MORRIS DANCING

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The Churchwardens' and Chamberlains' Books of Kingston-upon-Thames furnish the following particulars illustrative of 'Robin Hood and May Game':

23 Hen. VII. To the Minstrel upon May Day	0	0	4
For painting of a banner for Robin Hood	0	0	3
For a gown for the lady	0	0	8½
For bells for the dancers	0	0	12
24 Hen. VII. For little John's coat	0	8	0
1 Hen. VIII. For silver paper for the Morris dancers	0	0	7
For Kendall, for Robin Hood's coat	0	1	3
For 3 yards of white for the friar's coat	0	3	0
For two pair of gloves for Robin Hood and Maid Marian	0	0	3
For six broad arrows	0	0	6
To Maid Marian, for her labour for two years	0	2	0

Received for Robin Hood's gathering, 4 marks.

11 Hen. VIII. Paid for three broad yards of rosett for making the friar's coat . 0 3 6

Shoes for the Morris dancers, the friar, and Maid Marian, at 7*d.* a pair . . 0 5 4

13 Hen. VIII. Eight yards of fustian for the Morris Dancers' coats . . . 0 16 0

15 Hen. VIII. Hire of hats for Robin Hood 0 0 16

Paid for the hat that was lost . . 0 0 10

16 Hen. VIII. Received at the Church-ale and Robin Hood, all things deducted 3 10 6

21 Hen. VIII. For sponging and brushing Robin Hood's coats 0 0 2

Four yards of cloth for the fool's coat . 0 2 0

Two ells of worsted for Maid Marian's kirtle 0 6 8

For 6 pair of double soled shoon . . 0 4 6

To the minstrel 0 10 8

To the friar and piper for to go to Croydon 0 0 8

29 Hen. VIII. Mem. left in the keeping of the Wardens now being, a friar's coat of russet, and a kirtle of worsted welted with red cloth, a Morris coat of buckram, and four Morris dancers' coats of white fustian spangled, and two green satin coats, and a disard's coat of cotton, and six pair of garters with bells.

Observations on Popular Antiquities.
JOHN BRAND (1744-1806).

19. *rosett.* Russet, a coarse reddish brown or grey home-spun cloth.

27. *Church-ale.* An 'ale' was originally a festival.

40 buckram] coarse linen. 42 disard] fool.

MAY GAMES

Sixteenth Century

In the month of May, namely on May Day in the morning, every man, except impediment, would walk into the sweet meadows and green woods, there to rejoice their spirits with the beauty and savour of sweet flowers, and with the harmony of birds, praising God in their kind, and for example hereof, Edward Hall hath noted, that King Henry VIII, as in the third of his reign and divers other years, so namely in the seventh of his reign on May Day in the morning with Queen Katherine his wife, accompanied with many Lords and Ladies, rode a-Maying from Greenwich to the high ground of Shooters Hill, where as they passed by the way, they espied a company of tall yeomen clothed all in green, with green hoods, and with bows and arrows to the number of 200. One being their Chieftain was called Robin Hood, who required the King and his company to stay and see his men shoot, whereunto the King granting, Robin Hood whistled, and all the 200 Archers shot off, loosing all at once, and when he whistled again, they likewise shot again, their arrows whistled by craft of the head, so that the noise was strange and loud, which greatly delighted the King, Queen, and their company. Moreover this Robin Hood desired the King and Queen with their retinue to enter the green wood, where, in arbours made of boughs, and decked with flowers, they were set and served plentifully with venison and wine, by Robin Hood and his men, to their great contentment, and had other Pageants and pastimes as ye may read in my said Author. I find also that in the month of May, the Citizens of London of all estates, lightly in every parish, or sometimes two or three parishes joining together, had their several Mayings, and did fetch in Maypoles, with

divers warlike shows, with good Archers, Morris Dancers, and other devices for pastime all the day long, and towards the Evening they had stage plays and Bonfires in the streets: of these Mayings, we read in the reign of Henry VI, that the Aldermen and Sheriffs of London being on May Day at the Bishop of London's wood in the parish of Stebunheath, and having there a worshipful dinner for themselves and other commons, Lydgate the Poet, that was a Monk of Bury, sent to them by a Pursuivant a joyful commendation of that season, containing, sixteen staves in metre royal, beginning thus:

'Mighty Flora,' &c.

Survey of London.
JOHN STOW (?1525-1605).

46. *metre royal.* Or 'rhyme royal'; stanzas of seven ten-syllabled lines; e.g. as in the ballad of 'London Lyckpeny', p. 77.

LONDON TRAFFIC

End of Sixteenth Century

It followeth in Fitzstephen, that the plagues of London in that time were immoderate quaffing among fools, and often casualties by fire. For the first, to wit of quaffing, it continueth as before, or rather is mightily increased, though greatly qualified among the poorer sort, not of any holy abstinence, but of mere necessity. Ale and Beer being small, and Wines in price above their reach. As for prevention of casualties by fire, the houses in this city being then built all of timber and covered with thatch of straw or reed, it was long since thought good policy in our forefathers, wisely to provide, namely in the year of Christ, 1189, the first of Richard I, Henry Fitzalwine being then Mayor, that all men in this city should build their houses of stone up to a certain height, and

to cover them with slate or baked tile: since which time, thanks be given to God, there hath not happened the like often consuming fires in this city as before. But now in our time, instead of these enormities, others are come in place no less meet to be reformed: namely, Purprestures, or encroachments on the Highways, lanes and common grounds, in and about this city, whereof a learned Gentleman, and grave citizen hath not many years since written and exhibited a Book to the Mayor and community, which Book, whether the same have been by them read, and diligently considered upon I know not, but sure I am nothing is reformed since concerning this matter.

Then the number of cars, drays, carts and coaches, more than hath been accustomed, the streets and lanes being straitened, must needs be dangerous, as daily experience proveth.

The Coachman rides behind the horses' tails, lasheth them, and looketh not behind him: The Drayman sitteth and sleepeth on his Dray, and letteth his horse lead him home: I know that by the good laws and customs of this city, shod carts are forbidden to enter the same, except upon reasonable causes as service of the Prince, or such-like, they be tolerated. Also that the fore horse of every carriage should be led by hand: but these good orders are not observed. Of old time Coaches were not known in this Island, but chariots or Whirlicotes, then so called, and they only used of Princes or great Estates, such as had their footmen about them: and for example to note, I read that Richard II being threatened by the rebels of Kent, rode from the Tower of London to the Mile End, and with him his Mother, because she was sick and weak in a Whirlicote, the Earls of Buckingham, Kent, Warwick and Oxford, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Robert Knowles, the Mayor of London, Sir Aubrey de Vere that bare the king's sword, with other Knights and Esquires attending on horseback. But in the next year following the King took to wife Anne

daughter of the King of Bohemia that first brought hither the riding upon side saddles, and so was the riding in Whirlicotes and chariots forsaken, except at Coronations and such-like spectacles: but now of late years the use of Coaches brought out of Germany is taken up, and made so common, as there is neither distinction of time, nor difference of persons observed: for the world runs on wheels with many, whose parents were glad to go on foot.

Survey of London.

1. *William Fitzstephen.* Friend and biographer of Becket.

LONDON SCHOOLS

Sixteenth Century

But touching Schools more lately advanced in this city, I read that King Henry V, having suppressed the Priories aliens whereof some were about London, namely one Hospital, called *Our Lady of Rouncivall* by Charing Cross: one other Hospital in Holborn: one other without Cripplegate: and the fourth without Aldersgate, besides others that are now worn out of memory, and whereof there is no monument remaining more than *Rouncivall* converted to a brotherhood, which continued to the reign of Henry VIII or Edward VI, this I say, and other their schools being broken up and ceased: King Henry VI, in the 24th year of his reign, by patent appointed, that there should be in London Grammar Schools, besides *St. Paul's* and *St. Martin's-le-Grand, St. Marie-le-Bow* in Cheap, *St. Dunstins* in the west and *St. Anthonies.* And in the next year to wit, 1394, the said King ordained by Parliament that four other Grammar Schools should be erected, to wit, in the Parishes of *St. Andrew* in Holborn, *Allhallowes* the great in Thames Street, *St. Peters* upon Cornhill, and in the Hospital of *St. Thomas of Acons* in West Cheape,

since the which time as divers schools by suppressing of religious houses, whereof they were members, in the reign of Henry VIII have been decayed, so again have some others been newly erected, and founded for them: as namely *Paul's* school, in place of an old ruined house, was built in a most ample manner, and largely endowed in the year 1512, by *John Colet*, Doctor of Divinity, Dean of Paul's, for 153 poor men's children: for which there was ordained a Master, Surmaster, or Usher, and a Chaplain. Again in the year 1553, after the erection of Christ's Hospital in the late dissolved house of the Grey Friars, a great number of poor children being taken in, a school was also ordained there, at the Citizens' charges. Also in the year 1561 the Merchant Taylors of London founded one notable free Grammar School, in the Parish of *St. Lawrence Poultney* by Candleweek Street, Richard Hills, late master of that Company, having given £500 towards the purchase of a house, called the Manor of the Rose, sometime the Duke of Buckingham's, wherein the school is kept. As for the meeting of the Schoolmasters, on Festival days, at festival Churches, and the disputing of their Scholars logically, &c., whereof I have before spoken, the same was long since discontinued: But the arguing of the School boys about the principles of Grammar, hath been continued even till our time: for I myself in my youth have yearly seen on the Eve of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, the scholars of divers Grammar Schools repair into the Churchyard of St. Bartholomew, the Priory in Smithfield, where upon a bank boarded about under a tree, some one scholar hath stepped up, and there hath apposed and answered, till he were by some better scholar overcome and put down: and then the overcomer taking the place, did like as the first: and in the end the best apposers and answerers had rewards, which I observed not but it made both good Schoolmasters, and also good scholars, diligently against such times to prepare themselves for the

obtaining of this Garland. I remember there repaired to these exercises amongst others the masters and scholars of the free Schools of St. Paul's in London: of St. Peter's at Westminster: of Saint Thomas Acons Hospital: and of St. Anthony's Hospital: whereof the last named commonly presented the best scholars, and had the prize in those days.

This Priory of St. Bartholomew, being surrendered to Henry VIII, those disputations of scholars in that place surceased. And was again, only for a year or twain, in the reign of Edward VI, revived in the Cloister of Christ's Hospital, where the best scholars, then still of Saint Anthony's school, were rewarded with bows and arrows of silver, given to them by Sir Martin Bowes, Goldsmith. Nevertheless, howsoever the encouragement failed, the scholars of Paul's, meeting with them of St. Anthony's, would call them Anthony pigs, and they again would call the other 'pigeons of Paul's' because many pigeons were bred in Paul's Church, and Saint Anthony was always figured with a pig following him: and mindful of the former usage, did for a long season disorderly in the open street provoke one another with *Salve tu quoque, placet tibi mecum disputare, placet?* and so proceeding from this to questions in Grammar, they usually fall from words to blows with their satchels full of books, many times in great heaps that they troubled the streets and passengers: so that finally they were restrained with the decay of Saint Anthony's school. Out of this school have sprung divers famous persons, whereof although time hath buried the names of many, yet in mine own remembrance may be numbered these following: Sir Thomas More, knight, Lord Chancellor of England; Doctor Nicholas Heath, sometime Bishop of Rochester, after of Worcester, and lastly, Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor of England; Doctor John Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester, and after Archbishop of Canterbury.

Survey of London.

1687

Christ's Hospital.

I went this evening to see the order of the boys and children at Christ's Hospital. There were near 800 boys and girls so decently clad, cleanly lodged, so wholesomely fed, so admirably taught, some the mathematics, especially the forty of the late King's foundation, that I was delighted to see the progress some little youths of thirteen or fourteen years of age had made. I saw them at supper, visited their dormitories, and much admired the order, economy, and excellent government of this most charitable seminary. Some are taught for the Universities, others designed for seamen, all for trades and callings. The girls are instructed in all such work as becomes their sex and may fit them for good wives, mistresses, and to be a blessing to their generation. They sang a psalm before they sat down to supper in the great Hall, to an organ which played all the time, with such cheerful harmony, that it seemed to me a vision of angels. I came from the place with infinite satisfaction, having never seen a more noble, pious, and admirable charity. All these consisted of orphans only. The foundation was of that pious Prince King Edward VI, whose picture (held to be an original of Holbein) is in the court where the Governors meet to consult on the affairs of the Hospital, and his statue in white marble stands in a niche of the wall below, as you go to the church, which is a modern, noble, and ample fabric. This foundation has had, and still has, many benefactors.

Diary of JOHN EVELYN (1620-1706).

55. *apposed.* i. e. examined orally.

84. *Salve tu quoque, &c.* 'Good day, will it please you to argue with me?'

122. *Holbein.* The painter Hans Holbein (1497-1543) came to England in 1526 and was patronized by Henry VIII. He was one of the first to paint miniatures.

BULL AND BEAR BAITING

Hentzner, who was here in 1598, says:

There is a place built in the form of a Theatre, which serves for the baiting of bulls and bears; they are fastened behind, and then worried by great English bull-dogs; but not without great risk to the dogs, from the horns of the one and the teeth of the other: and it sometimes happens they are killed on the spot. Fresh ones are immediately supplied in the places of those that are wounded or tired. To this entertainment there often follows that of whipping a blinded bear, which is performed by five or six men, standing circularly, with whips, which they exercise upon him without any mercy, as he cannot escape from them because of his chain. He defends himself with all his force and skill, throwing down all who come within his reach, and are not quite active enough to get out of it, and tearing the whips out of their hands and breaking them. At these spectacles, and everywhere else, the English are constantly smoking tobacco.'

Observations of Popular Antiquities.
JOHN BRAND (1744–1806).

Anne. I pray you, sir, walk in.

Slender. I had rather walk here, I thank you. I bruised my shin the other day with playing at sword and dagger with a master of fence (three veneys for a dish of stewed prunes), and, by my troth, I cannot abide the smell of hot meat since. Why do your dogs bark so? be there bears i' the town?

Anne. I think there are, sir; I heard them talked of.

Slender. I love the sport well; but I shall as soon quarrel at it as any man in *England*. You are afraid, if you see the bear loose, are you not?

Anne. Ay, indeed, sir.

22 veneys] thrusts.

Slender. That 's meat and drink to me, now: I have seen Sackerson loose, twenty times, and have taken him by the chain; but, I warrant you, the women have so cried and shriek'd at it, that it pass'd: but women, indeed, cannot abide 'em; they are very ill-favoured rough things.

The Merry Wives of Windsor.
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE (1564–1616).

DECAY OF SHOOTING

1549

There be such dicing houses also, they say, as hath not been wont to be, where young gentlemen dice away their thrift; and where dicing is, there are other follies also. For the love of God let remedy be had, let us wrestle and strive against sin. Men of England, in times past, when they would exercise themselves (for we must needs have some recreation, our bodies cannot endure without some exercise), they were wont to go abroad in the fields a-shooting. The art of shooting hath been in times past much esteemed in this realm; it is a gift of God that He hath given us to excel all other nations withal; it hath been God's instrument, whereby He hath given us many victories against our enemies. A wondrous thing, that so excellent a gift of God should be so little esteemed: I desire you, my Lords, even as ye love the honour and glory of God, and intend to remove His indignation, let there be sent forth some proclamation, some sharp proclamation to the justices of peace, for they do not their duty: justices now be no justices. In my time, my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot, as to learn me any other thing; and so I think other men did their children: he taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms, as divers other nations do, but with

strength of the body: I had my bows bought me, according to my age and strength; as I increased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger, for men shall never shoot well, except they be brought up in it: it is a goodly art, a wholesome kind of exercise, and much commended in physic.

Sixth Sermon.
HUGH LATIMER.

VIOLATION OF THE SABBATH

1585

(Order of the magistrates following on a commission sent by Queen Elizabeth.)

The complaint was, that the Sabbath was profaned by Wakes, Fairs, Bearbaits, Bullbaits, Ales, May-games, resorting to Alehouses in time of divine service, piping and dancing, hunting and all manner of unlawful gaming. For reformation whereof it was ordered to give in charge at the quarter-sessions to all mayors, bailiffs, and constables as well as to other civil officers, churchwardens, &c., to suppress by all lawful means the said disorders of the Sabbath, and to present the offenders at the quarter-sessions that they might be dealt with for the same according to law. It was also directed that the minstrels, bearwards, and all such disorderly persons, should be immediately apprehended and brought before the justices of the peace, and punished at their discretion; that the churchwardens should be enjoined to present at the sessions all those that neglected to attend divine service upon the Sabbath day, that they might be indicted and fined in the penalty of twelve pence for every offence; that the number of ale-houses should be abridged, &c., that the ale-sellers should utter a full

2 Ales] feasts.

quart of ale for a penny, and none of any less size, and that they should sell no ale or other victuals in time of divine service.

History of Lancaster.

In 1616 the Corporation of Preston ordered that all the householders of Preston should close their doors in all the time of divine service and sermons upon Sabbath days and other festival days: and that the said householders should be respectively fined fourpence every time they permitted any of their children, servants, or family, or any of them being above the age of seven years, to play in the open streets of this town at any game or play whatsoever, or to sit at the doors or in the street.

History of Preston.
A. HEWITSON.

DECLARATION OF SPORTS

1618

(In 1617 James I visited Hoghton Tower, which is about seven miles from Preston. He there received a petition from Lancashire tradespeople, labourers, and servants, soliciting leave for lawful recreation on Sundays and principal holidays. The next year James published his Declaration of Sports.)

Whereas we did justly in our progress through Lancashire rebuke some Puritans and precise people, and took order that the like unlawful carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and unlawful punishing of our good people for using their lawful recreations and honest exercises upon Sundays, and other Holy-days, after the afternoon sermon or service, we now find that two sorts of people wherewith that country is much infected, we mean Papists and Puritans, have maliciously traduced and calumniated those our just and honourable proceedings.

It is true that at our first entry to this Crown and kingdom we were informed, and that too truly, that our county of Lancashire abounded more in Popish Recusants than any county of England, and thus hath still continued since, to our great regret, with little amendment, save that, now of late, in our last riding through our said country, we find both by the report of the Judges, and of the Bishop of that Diocese, that there is some amendment now daily beginning, which is no small contentment to us.

The report of this growing amendment amongst them made us the more sorry, when with our own ears we heard the general complaint of our people, that they were barred from all lawful recreations and exercise upon the Sunday's afternoon, after the ending of all divine service, which cannot but produce two evils: the one the hindering of the conversion of many, whom their priests will take occasion hereby to vex, persuading them that no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in our religion, which cannot but breed a great discontentment in our people's hearts, especially of such as are peradventure upon the point of turning: the other inconvenience is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people from using such exercises as may make their bodies more able for war, when His Majesty or his successors shall have occasion to use them; and in place thereof sets up filthy tippling and drunkenness, and breeds a number of idle and discontented speeches in their ale-houses. For when shall the common people have leave to exercise, if not upon the Sundays and Holy-days, seeing they must apply their labour and win their living in all working-days?

Our pleasure therefore is that the Bishop and all other inferior churchmen and churchwardens shall for their parts be careful and diligent, both to instruct the ignorant, and convince and reform them that are misled in religion, presenting them that will not conform themselves, but obstinately stand out, to our

Judges and Justices: whom we likewise command to put the law in due execution against them.

Our pleasure likewise is, that the Bishop of that Diocese take the like strait order with all the Puritans and Precisians within the same, either constraining them to conform themselves or to leave the county, according to the laws of our kingdom and canons of our Church, and so to strike equally on both hands against the contemners of our authority and adversaries of our Church; and as for our good people's lawful recreation, our pleasure likewise is, that after the end of divine service our good people be not disturbed, letted or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation, nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, and Morris-dances; and the setting up of May-poles and other sports therewith used: so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service: and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old custom; but withal we do here account still as prohibited all unlawful games to be used upon Sundays only, as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and at all times in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited, bowling.

And likewise we bar from this benefit and liberty all such known Recusants, either men or women, as will abstain from coming to church or divine service, being therefore unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said service, that will not first come to the church and serve God: prohibiting in like sort the said recreations to any that, though conform in religion, are not present in the church at the service of God, before their going to the said recreations. Our pleasure likewise is, that they to whom it belongeth in office, shall present and sharply punish all such as, in abuse of this our liberty, will use these exercises before the end of all divine services for that day:

and we likewise straightly command that every person shall resort to his own parish church to hear divine service, and each parish by itself to use the said recreation after divine service: prohibiting likewise any offensive weapons to be carried or used in the said times of recreation.

Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution.
SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER.

CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS

1586

(*Extract from the 'Star Chamber Ordinance'.*)

I. Item, That no printer of books nor any other person shall set up any press, but only in the city of London or in the suburbs thereof, and except one press in the University of Cambridge and one other press in the University of Oxford, and no more; and that no person shall hereafter erect in any secret or obscure corner or place any such press, but that the same shall be in such open place or places in his or their house or houses as the Wardens of the said Company of the Stationers . . . may from time to time have ready access unto, to search for and view the same.

II. Item, that no person shall imprint any book or thing whatsoever, except the same book or any other thing shall be allowed according to the order appointed by the Queen's Majesty's injunctions, and be first seen and perused by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London for the time being, or one of them (the Queen's Majesty's printer and such as are privileged to print the books of the common law of this realm, for such of the same books as shall be allowed of by the two Chief Justices and Chief Baron for the time being or any two of them, only excepted).

Statutes and Constitutional Documents.

One of the first victims in 1637 was Leighton (father of the archbishop of that name), who for printing his *Zion's Plea against Prelacy* was fined £10,000, degraded from the ministry, pilloried, branded, and whipped, besides having an ear cropped, and his nostril slit. Prynne, after standing several times in the pillory for having by his denunciations of lady actresses libelled Queen Henrietta by anticipation, solaced his hours of imprisonment by writing his *News from Ipswich*, by which he incurred a third exposure and the loss of his remaining ear; this was in 1637. He did not suffer alone, Burton and Dr. Bastwick being companions in misfortune with him. The latter's offence consisted in publishing a reply to one Short, directed against the bishops of Rome, and concluding with 'From plague, pestilence, and famine, from bishops, priests, and deacons, good Lord, deliver us!' How the two bore their punishment is told in a letter from Garrard to Lord Strafford: 'In the palace-yard two pillories were erected, and there the sentence of the Star Chamber against Burton, Bastwick, and Prynne was executed. They stood two hours in the pillory. The place was full of people, who cried and howled terribly, especially when Burton was cropped. Dr. Bastwick was very merry; his wife, Dr. Poe's daughter, got on a stool and kissed him. His ears being cut off, she called for them, put them in a clean handkerchief, and carried them away with her. Bastwick told the people the lords had collar-days at court, but this was his collar-day, rejoicing much in it.'

Book of Days.
ROBERT CHAMBERS (1802–71).

44. *Star Chamber.* Henry VII founded the Star Chamber, which had very wide judicial functions. It was abolished by the Long Parliament in 1641.

OLIVER CROMWELL

1640

I have no mind to give an ill character of Cromwell; for in his conversation towards me he was ever friendly. . . . The first time that ever I took notice of him, was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman: (for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes). I came one morning into the House well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking (whom I knew not) very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth-suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band: his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour; for the subject-matter would not bear much of reason; it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's, who had dispersed libels against the Queen for her dancing and such-like innocent and courtly sports; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the Council-Table unto that height, that one would have believed the very government itself had been in great danger by it. I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence unto that great council; for he was very much hearkened unto. And yet I lived to see this very gentleman, whom out of no ill will to him I thus describe, by multiplied good successes, and by real (but usurped) power: (having had a better tailor, and more converse among good company) in my own eye, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his sergeant's hands, and daily waited at Whitehall, appear of a great and majestic

deportment and comely presence. Of him therefore I will say no more, but that verily I believe he was extraordinarily designed for those extraordinary things, which one while most wickedly and facinorously he acted, and at another as successfully and greatly performed.

Memoirs.
SIR PHILIP WARWICK (1609-83).

EXTRACT FROM THE CHARTER TO THE VIRGINIAN COLONIES

April 10th, 1606.

James, by the grace of God, &c. Whereas our loving and well-disposed subjects Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, knights, Richard Hackluyt, clerk, prebendary of Westminster, gentlemen, and divers others of our loving subjects, have been humble suitors unto us, that we would vouchsafe unto them our licence to make habitation, plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America commonly called Virginia, and other parts and territories in America, either appertaining to us or which are not now actually possessed by any Christian prince or people; and to that end, and for the more speedy accomplishment of their said intended plantation and habitation there, are desirous to divide themselves into two several colonies and companies, the one consisting of certain knights, gentlemen, merchants and other adventurers of our city of London and elsewhere which are and from time to time shall be joined unto them which do desire to begin their plantations in some fit and convenient place, between four-and-thirty and one-and-forty degrees of the said [north] latitude, all along the coast of Virginia and coasts of America aforesaid; and

the other consisting of sundry knights of our cities of Bristol and Exeter and of our town of Plymouth and of other places which do join themselves unto that colony, which do desire to begin their plantations in some fit and convenient place between eight-and-thirty and five-and-forty degrees of the said latitude, all along the said coast of Virginia and America as that coast lieth:

We, greatly commending and graciously accepting of their desires for the furtherance of so noble a work, which may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to humane civility and to a settled and quiet government, do, by these our letters patents, graciously accept of and agree to their humble and well-intended desires.

Statutes and Constitutional Documents.

MOTHER COUNTRY AND COLONISTS

1671

26th May. The first thing we did was, to settle the form of a circular-letter to the Governors of all his Majesty's Plantations and Territories in the West Indies and Islands thereof, to give them notice to whom they should apply themselves on all occasions, and to render us an account of their present state and government; but, what we most insisted on was, to know the condition of New England, which appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England, or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were, there were great debates in what style to write to them; for the condition of that Colony was such,

that they were able to contest with all other Plantations about them, and there was fear of their breaking from all dependence on this nation; his Majesty, therefore, commended this affair more expressly. We therefore thought fit, in the first place, to acquaint ourselves as well as we could of the state of that place, by some whom we heard of that were newly come from thence, and to be informed of their present posture and condition; some of our Council were for sending them a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humour of that Colony, were utterly against.

JOHN EVELYN.

OF PLANTATIONS

(This essay was written in 1625. Bacon was a member of the company formed to colonize Virginia.)

Plantations are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young, it begat more children; but now it is old, it begets fewer: for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displanted, to the end to plant in others; for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods; for you must make account to lose almost twenty years' profit, and expect your recompense in the end: for the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no further. It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and

spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers. In a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand: as chestnuts, walnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like; and make use of them. Then consider what victual or esculent things there are which grow speedily and within the year; as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish, artichokes of Jerusalem, maize, and the like: for wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour; but with peas and beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread; and of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oatmeal, flour, meal, and the like in the beginning till bread may be had. For beasts or birds take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases and multiply fastest; as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town; that is, with certain allowance: and let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn, be to a common stock; and to be laid in and stored up and then delivered out in proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private. Consider likewise what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation: so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business, as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much, and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore, and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood

aboundeth. Making of bay-salt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience: growing silk, likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity: pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail; so drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit: soap-ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of; but moil not too much under ground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things. For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel, and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation; and, above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always and his service before their eyes. Let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain. Let there be freedom from custom till the plantation be of strength: and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people by sending too fast company after company; but rather hearken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers, and in marish and unwholesome grounds: therefore, though you begin there, to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the streams than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be

66 moil] work.

necessary. If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss; and send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men; that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.

FRANCIS BACON (1561–1626).

98 gingles] rattles.

PART II

DEATH OF STRAFFORD

1641

And to show, how mad this whole people were, especially in and about this then bloody and brutish city (London); in the evening of the day wherein he was executed, the greatest demonstrations of joy that possibly could be expressed ran through the whole town, and countries hereabout; and many that came up to town on purpose to see the execution, rode in triumph back, waving their hats, and with all expressions of joy, through every town they went crying, 'His head is off, his head is off!' and in many places committing insolencies upon, and breaking the windows of those persons who would not solemnize this festival with a bonfire. So ignorant and brutish is a multitude.

SIR PHILIP WARWICK.

THE RAISING OF THE IRONSIDES

c. 1640

I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater; from my first being a Captain of a Troop of Horse; and did labour as well as I could to discharge my trust; and God blessed me therein as it pleased Him. And I did truly and plainly—and in a way of foolish simplicity, as it was judged by

very great and wise men, and good men too—desire to make my instruments help me in that work. And I will deal plainly with you: I had a very worthy Friend then; and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all,—Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out into this engagement, I saw our men were beaten at every hand. I did indeed; and I desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's Army, of some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you; God knows that I lie not. 'Your troopers', said I, 'are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and', said I, 'their troopers are gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them?' Truly I did represent to him in this manner conscientiously; and truly I did tell him: 'You must get men of a spirit: and take it not ill what I say,—I know you will not, —of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go: or else you will be beaten still.' I told him so; I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. Truly I told him I could do somewhat in it. I did do so,—did this somewhat: and truly I must needs say this to you, the result was,—impute it to what you please,—I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did; and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually. And truly this is matter of praise to God: and it hath some instruction in it,—to own men that are religious and godly, and so many of them as are peaceably and honestly and quietly

disposed to live within rules of Government, and will be subject to those Gospel rules of obeying Magistrates and living under Authority.

Letters and Speeches.
OLIVER CROMWELL (1599–1658).

12. *John Hampden.* Killed at Chalgrove Field, 1643.

WITCHCRAFT

MOTHER SAWYER (*before she turns Witch*), *alone.*

And why on me? why should the envious world
Throw all their scandalous malice upon me?
'Cause I am poor, deform'd, and ignorant,
And like a bow buckled and bent together,
By some more strong in mischiefs than myself;
Must I for that be made a common sink,
For all the filth and rubbish of men's tongues
To fall and run into? Some call me Witch,
And being ignorant of myself, they go
About to teach me how to be one: urging,
That my bad tongue (by their bad usage made so)
Forspeaks their cattle, doth bewitch their corn.
Themselves, their servants, and their babes at nurse;
This they enforce upon me: and in part
Make me to credit it.

. . . . . .

Wither'd may that hand and arm
Whose blows have lamed me, drop from the rotten trunk.
Abuse me! beat me! call me hag and witch!
What is the name, where and by what art learn'd?
What spells, what charms, or invocations?
May the thing call'd Familiar be purchased?

. . . . . .

I am shunn'd
And hated like a sickness: made a scorn

To all degrees and sexes. I have heard old beldams
Talk of Familiars in the shape of mice,
Rats, ferrets, weasels, and I wot not what,
That have appear'd, and suck'd, some say, their blood.
But by what means they came acquainted with them,
I'm now ignorant. Would some power good or bad
Instruct me which way I might be revenged
Upon this churl, I'd go out of myself,
And give this fury leave to dwell within
This ruin'd cottage, ready to fall with age:
Abjure all goodness: be at hate with prayer:
And study curses, imprecations,
Blasphemous speeches, oaths, detested oaths,
Or anything that 's ill; so I might work
Revenge upon this miser, this black cur,
That barks, and bites, and sucks the very blood
Of me, and of my credit. 'Tis all one,
To be a witch as to be counted one.

The Witch of Edmonton.
WILLIAM ROWLEY (? 1585–? 1642).

MATTHEW HOPKINS—WITCHFINDER GENERAL

1644–47

I

A monster like Hopkins could only have existed during the confusion of civil dissension. He was, perhaps, a native of Manningtree, in Essex; at any rate, he resided there in the year 1644, when an epidemic outcry of witchcraft arose in that town. Upon this occasion he had made himself busy, and, affecting more zeal and knowledge than other men, learned his trade of a witchfinder, as he pretends,

from experiment. He was afterwards permitted to perform it as a legal profession, and moved from one place to another, with an assistant named Sterne, and a female. In his defence against an accusation of fleecing the country, he declared his regular charge was twenty shillings a town, including charges of living, and journeying thither and back again with his assistants. He also affirms, that he went nowhere unless called and invited. His principal mode of discovery was, to strip the accused persons naked, and thrust pins into various parts of their body, to discover the witch's mark, which was supposed to be inflicted by the devil as a sign of his sovereignty. He also practised and stoutly defended the trial by swimming, when the suspected person was wrapped in a sheet, having the great toes and thumbs tied together, and so dragged through a pond or river. If she sank, it was received in favour of the accused; but if the body floated (which must have occurred ten times for once, if it was placed with care on the surface of the water), the accused was condemned, on the principle of King James, who, in treating of this mode of trial, lays down that, as witches have renounced their baptism, so it is just that the element through which the holy rite is enforced, should reject them, which is a figure of speech, and no argument. It was Hopkins's custom to keep the poor wretches waking, in order to prevent them from having encouragement from the devil, and, doubtless, to put infirm, terrified, overwatched persons in the next state to absolute madness; and for the same purpose they were dragged about by their keepers till extreme weariness, and the pain of blistered feet might form additional inducements to confession.

Demonology and Witchcraft.
SIR WALTER SCOTT (1771–1832).

II

Has not this present Parliament
A ledger to the devil sent,
Fully empower'd to treat about
Finding revolted witches out?
And has not he, within a year
Hanged threescore of them in one shire?
Some only for not being drown'd,
And some for sitting above ground
Whole days and nights, upon their breeches,
And feeling pain, were hang'd for witches.
And some for putting knavish tricks
Upon green geese, and turkey-chicks
Or pigs, that suddenly deceased
Of griefs unnatural, as he guess'd,
Who after proved himself a witch,
And made a rod for his own breech.

Hudibras.
SAMUEL BUTLER (1612-80).

48. *one shire.* Suffolk.
57. *proved himself a witch.* Hopkins's own method of witch-finding was at length applied to himself; when he was put into the water with his thumbs and toes tied, he floated as his victims had done. He was hanged as a sorcerer.

THE OLD AND YOUNG COURTIER

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

An old song made by an aged old pate,
Of an old worshipful gentleman, who had a great estate,
That kept a brave old house at a bountiful rate
And an old porter to relieve the poor at his gate;
Like an old courtier of the queen's,
And the queen's old courtier.

44 ledger] messenger.

With an old lady, whose anger one word assuages,
They every quarter paid their old servants their wages,
And never knew what belonged to coachmen, footmen, nor pages,
But kept twenty old fellows with blue coats and badges;
Like an old courtier, &c.

With an old study filled with learned old books,
With an old reverend chaplain, you might know him by his looks;
With an old buttery-hatch worn quite off the hooks,
And an old kitchen that maintained half a dozen old cooks;
Like an old courtier, &c.

With an old hall, hung about with pikes, guns, and bows,
With old swords and bucklers, that had borne many shrewd blows,
And an old frieze coat to cover his worship's trunk hose,
And a cup of old sherry to comfort his copper nose;
Like an old courtier, &c.

With a good old fashion, when Christmas was come,
To call in all his old neighbours with bagpipe and drum,
With good cheer enough to furnish every old room,
And old liquor enough to make a cat speak, and a man dumb;
Like an old courtier, &c.

With an old falconer, huntsman, and a kennel of hounds,
That never hawked nor hunted but in his own grounds,

19 frieze] coarse woollen cloth.

Who, like a wise man, kept himself within his own bounds,
And when he died gave every child a thousand good pounds;
Like an old courtier, &c.

. . . . . .

But to his eldest son his house and lands he assigned
Charging him in his will to keep the bountiful old mind,
To be good to his tenants, and to his neighbours to be kind;
But in the ensuing ditty you shall hear how he was inclined;
Like a young courtier of the king's,
And the king's young courtier.

Like a flourishing young gallant, newly come to his land,
Who keeps a brace of painted madams at his command,
And takes up a thousand pound upon his father's land,
And gets drunk in a tavern, till he can neither go nor stand;
Like a young courtier, &c.

With a new-fangled lady, that is dainty, nice, and spare,
Who never knew what belonged to good housekeeping, or care,
Who buys gaudy-coloured fans to play with wanton air,
And seven or eight different dressings of other women's hair;
Like a young courtier, &c.

With a new-fashioned hall, built where the old one stood,
Hung round with new pictures that do the poor no good,

With a fine marble chimney wherein burns neither
coal nor wood,
And a new smooth shovel board whereon no victuals
ne'er stood;
Like a young courtier, &c.

With a new study stuffed full of pamphlets and
plays,
And a new chaplain that swears faster than he prays,
With a new buttery-hatch that opens once in four
or five days,
And a new French cook to devise kickshaws and
toys;
Like a young courtier, &c.

With a new fashion, when Christmas is drawing on,
On a new journey to London straight we all must
be gone,
And leave none to keep house, but our new porter,
John,
Who relieves the poor with a thump on the back
with a stone;
Like a young courtier, &c.

With a new gentleman usher, whose carriage is
complete,
With a new coachman, footmen, and pages to carry
up the meat,
With a waiting gentlewoman whose dressing is very
neat,
Who, when her lady has dined, lets the servants
not eat;
Like a young courtier, &c.

With new titles of honour bought with his father's
old gold,
For which sundry of his ancestors' old manors are
sold,

56 kickshaws] fancy dishes.

And this is the course most of our young gallants hold,
Which makes that good housekeeping is now grown so cold
Among the young courtiers of the king,
Or the king's young courtiers.

Old Song.

51. *shovel board.* A table marked with lines up to which coins were pushed by the hand; i. e. the gaming-table has supplanted the sideboard.

59. *to London.* Charles I issued a proclamation forbidding the lords of the manor to come up to London 'for the season'.

68. *new titles.* e. g. a baronetcy.

EDUCATION OF A PURITAN LADY

c. 1630

As soon as I was weaned a French woman was taken to be my dry-nurse, and I was taught to speak French and English together. My mother dreamed that she was walking in the garden with my father, and that a star came down into her hand, with other circumstances, which, though I have often heard, I minded not enough to remember perfectly; only my father told her, her dream signified that she should have a daughter of some extraordinary eminency; which thing, like such vain prophecies, wrought as far as it could its own accomplishment: for my father and mother, fancying me then beautiful, and more than ordinarily apprehensive, applied all their cares, and spared no cost to improve me in my education, which procured me the admiration of those that flattered my parents. By the time I was four years old I read English perfectly, and having a great memory, I was carried to sermons, and while I was very young could remember and repeat them exactly,

13 apprehensive] intelligent.

and being caressed, the love of praise tickled me, and made me attend more heedfully. When I was about seven years of age, I remember I had at one time eight tutors in several qualities, languages, music, dancing, writing, and needle-work, but my genius was quite averse from all but my book, and that I was so eager of, that my mother thinking it prejudiced my health, would moderate me in it; yet this rather animated me than kept me back, and every moment I could steal from my play I would employ in any book I could find, when my own were locked up from me. After dinner and supper I still had an hour allowed me to play, and then I would steal into some hole or other to read. My father would have me learn Latin, and I was so apt that I outstripped my brothers who were at school, although my father's chaplain that was my tutor was a pitiful dull fellow. My brothers who had a great deal of wit, had some emulation at the progress I made in my learning, which very well pleased my father, though my mother would have been contented if I had not so wholly addicted myself to that as to neglect my other qualities: as for music and dancing I profited very little in them, and would never practise my lute or harpsichords but when my masters were with me; and for my needle I absolutely hated it; play among other children I despised, and when I was forced to entertain such as came to visit me, I tired them with more grave instructions than their mothers, and plucked all their babies to pieces, and kept the children in such awe, that they were glad when I entertained myself with elder company.

Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson.
MRS. HUTCHINSON (1620–? 1680).

A PURITAN GENTLEMAN

Colonel Hutchinson (1616–64).

He was of a middle stature, of a slender and exactly well-proportioned shape in all parts, his complexion fair, his hair of light brown, very thick set in his youth, softer than the finest silk, curling into loose great rings at the ends, and his eyes of a lively grey, well shaped and full of life and vigour, graced with many becoming motions; his visage thin, his mouth well made, and his lips very ruddy and graceful, although the nether chap shut over the upper, yet it was in such a manner as was not unbecoming; his teeth were even and white as the purest ivory; his chin was something long, and the mould of his face, his forehead was not very high, his nose was raised and sharp, but withal he had a most amiable countenance, which carried in it something of magnanimity and majesty mixed with sweetness, and at the same time bespoke love and awe in all that saw him; his skin was smooth and white, his legs and feet excellently well-made; he was quick in his pace and turns, nimble and active and graceful in all his motions, he was apt for any bodily exercise, and any that he did became him, he could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor riper years made any practice of it; he had skill in fencing such as became a gentleman, he had a great love of music, and often diverted himself with a viol, on which he played masterly, he had an exact ear and judgement in other music, he shot excellently in bows and guns, and much used them for his exercise, he had great judgement in paintings, graving, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of value in all kinds, he took great delight in perspective glasses, and for his other rarities was not so much affected with the antiquity as the merit of the work; he took much pleasure in improvement of grounds, in planting

groves and walks, and fruit trees, in opening springs and making fish-ponds; of country recreations he loved none but hawking, and in that was very eager and much delighted for the time he used it, but soon left it off; he was wonderfully neat, cleanly, and genteel in his habit, and had a very good fancy in it, but he left off very early the wearing of anything that was costly, yet in his plainest negligent habit appeared very much a gentleman; he had more address than force of body, yet the courage of his soul so supplied his members that he never wanted strength when he found occasion to employ it; his conversation was very pleasant, for he was naturally cheerful, had a ready wit and apprehension; he was eager in everything he did, earnest in dispute, but withal very rational, so that he was seldom overcome, everything that it was necessary for him to do he did with delight, free and unconstrained, he hated ceremonious compliment, but yet had a natural civility and complaisance to all people; he was of a tender constitution, but through the vivacity of his spirit could undergo labours, watchings and journeys, as well as any of stronger compositions; he was rheumatic, and had a long sickness and distemper occasioned thereby two or three years after the war ended, but else for the latter half of his life was healthy though tender; in his youth and childhood he was sickly, much troubled with weakness and toothaches, but then his spirits carried him through them; he was very patient under sickness or pain, or any common accidents, but yet upon occasions, though never without just ones, he would be very angry, and had even in that such a grace as made him to be feared, yet he was never outrageous in passion; he had a very good faculty in persuading, and would speak very well pertinently and effectually without premeditation upon the greatest occasions that could be offered, for indeed, his judgement was so nice, that he could never frame any speech beforehand to please himself, but his invention

was so ready and wisdom so habitual in all his speeches, that he never had reason to repent himself of speaking at any time without ranking the words beforehand; he was not talkative, yet free of discourse, of a very spare diet, not given to sleep, an early riser when in health, he never was at any time idle, and hated to see any one else so.

Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson.

OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS

(Masques were semi-dramatic entertainments, popular amongst the nobility of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Names of great poets, musicians, and painters are associated with them. Jonson and Milton wrote words, Lawes set them to music, and the scenery was sometimes designed by Inigo Jones.)

These things are but toys to come amongst such serious observations; but yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy, than daubed with cost. Dancing to song is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it that the song be in quire, placed aloft and accompanied with some broken music: and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing); and the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly (a bass and a tenor, no treble), and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty. Several quires placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches anthem-wise, give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity; and generally, let it be noted that those things which I here set down are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure: for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light specially coloured and varied; and let the

masquers, or any other that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings: let the music likewise be sharp and loud and well placed. The colours that show best by candlelight are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water green; and oes or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizors are off; not after examples of known attires, Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-masques not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beasts, sprites, witches, Ethiopes, pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statuas moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques: and anything that is hideous, as devils, giants, is on the other side as unfit; but chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men another of ladies, addeth state and variety; but all is nothing except the room be kept clear and neat.

For justs and tourneys and barriers, the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts, as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or in the devices of their entrance, or in the bravery of their liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

FRANCIS BACON (1561–1626).

36 vizors] masks. turquets] Turkish dwarfs. 40 antics] mountebanks. 59 toys] trifles.

7. *broken music.* Music to be played by mixed instruments as in a modern orchestra.
18. *take the sense.* Please sight and hearing.
32. *oes or spangs.* Round spangles used for decorating dresses.
38. *anti-masques* were comic interludes.
53. *justs.* Single combats.
tourneys. Combats between parties of knights.
barriers. The palisade which bounded the lists: here used for the lists themselves.

THE WAKE

Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century

Come, Anthea, let us two
Go to feast, as others do.
Tarts and custards, creams and cakes,
Are the junkets still at wakes:
Unto which the tribes resort,
Where the business is the sport:
Morris-dancers thou shalt see,
Marion, too, in pageantry:
And a mimic to devise
Many grinning properties.
Players there will be, and those
Base in action as in clothes:
Yet with strutting they will please
The incurious villages.
Near the dying of the day
There will be a cudgel-play,
Where a coxcomb will be broke,
Ere a good word can be spoke:
But the anger ends all here,
Drench'd in ale, or drown'd in beer.
—Happy rustics! best content
With the cheapest merriment;

10 properties] stage costumes or furniture. 14 incurious] uncritical.

And possess no other fear,
Than to want the Wake next year.

ROBERT HERRICK (1591–1674).

7. *Morris-dancers . . . Marion.* See pp. 136–7.

DIDSBURY WAKES

1825

Didsbury Wakes will be celebrated on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of August. A long bill of fare of the diversions to be enjoyed at this most delightful village has been published. The enjoyments consist chiefly of ass-races, for purses of gold; prison-bar playing, and grinning through collars, for ale; bag-racing, for hats; foot-racing, for sums of money; maiden plates for ladies under twenty years of age, for gown-pieces, shawls, &c.; treacled-loaf-eating, for various rewards; smoking matches; apple-dumpling eating; wheel-barrow racing, the best heats; bell-racing, and balls, each evening. 'Quae nunc prescribere longum est.' The humours of Didsbury Festival are always well regulated—the display of youths of both sexes, vying with each other in dress and fashion, as well as cheerful and blooming faces, is not exceeded by any similar event—and the gaieties of each day are succeeded by the evening parties fantastically tripping through the innocent relaxation of country dances, reels, &c., to as favourite tunes, at the Cock and Ring o' Bells Inns.

The Stockport Advertiser (Aug. 1825).

5. *prison-bar playing.* A game generally called 'prisoners' base'.

7. *maiden plates.* Races to be run by competitors who have never previously won a prize.

MAY-DAY

Colin. Early in May up got the jolly rout,
Call'd by the lark, and spread the fields about:
One, for to breathe himself, would coursing be
From this same beech to yonder mulberry,
A second leap'd, his supple nerves to try,
A third was practising his melody.
This a new jig was footing, others were
Busied at wrestling, or to throw the bar:
Ambitious which should bear the bell away
And kiss the nut-brown lady of the May.
This stirr'd 'em up; a jolly swain was he
Whom Peg and Susan after victory
Crown'd with a garland they had made, beset
With daisies, pinks, and many a violet,
Cowslip and gilliflower. Rewards, though small,
Encourage virtue, but if none at all
Meet her, she languisheth, and lies, as now
Where worth's denied the honour of a bough.
And, Thenot, this the cause I read to be
Of such a dull and general lethargy.

Thenot. Ill thrive the lout that did their mirth gainsay,
Wolves haunt his flocks that took those sports away!

Colin. Some melancholy swains about have gone
To teach all zeal their own complexion:
Choler they will admit sometimes, I see,
But phlegm and sanguine no religions be.
These teach that dancing is a Jezebel;
And barley-break, the ready way to hell;
The morrice-idols, Whitsun-ales can be
But profane relics of a jubilee!
These in a zeal, t'express how much they do
The organs hate, have silenc'd bagpipes too;
And harmless Maypoles, all are rail'd upon
As if they were the towers of Babylon.

15 gilliflower] wallflower.

Some think not fit there should be any sport
I' th' country, 'tis a dish proper to th' Court.
Mirth not becomes 'em; let the saucy swain
Eat beef, and bacon, and go sweat again.
Besides, what sport can in their pastimes be,
When all is but ridiculous foppery?

The Cotswold Eclogue.
THOMAS RANDOLPH (1605–35).

23. *melancholy swains.* The Puritans.
25–6. *Choler . . . phlegm . . . sanguine.* In ancient physiology it was believed that four fluids—choler, phlegm, blood, and black choler, or melancholy—determined a man's physical and mental state.
28. *barley-break.* A romping game.
29. *morrice-idols.* i.e. morris-dances performed by people dressed in costumes representing Robin Hood, Maid Marian, and other legendary characters.

CEREMONIES FOR CANDLEMAS EVE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Down with the rosemary and bays,
Down with the mistletoe;
Instead of holly, now upraise
The greener box, for show.

The holly hitherto did sway;
Let box now domineer;
Until the dancing Easter Day
Or Easter's eve appear.

Then youthful box which now hath grace,
Your houses to renew;
Grown old, surrender must his place,
Unto the crispèd yew.

When yew is out, then birch comes in,
And many flowers beside;
Both of a fresh and fragrant kin
To honour Whitsuntide.

Green rushes then, and sweetest bents,
With cooler oaken boughs;
Come in for comely ornaments,
To re-adorn the house.

Thus times do shift; each thing his turn does hold
New things succeed, as former things grow old.

Hesperides.
ROBERT HERRICK (1591-1674).

Title. *Candlemas Eve.* Feb. 1.

THE HOCK CART; OR, HARVEST HOME

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Come, sons of summer, by whose toil,
We are the lords of wine and oil;
By whose tough labours, and rough hands,
We rip up first, then reap our lands.
Crowned with the ears of corn, now come,
And, to the pipe sing harvest home.
Come forth, my lord, and see the cart
Dressed up with all the country art.
See, here a malkin, there a sheet,
As spotless pure, as it is sweet;
The horses, mares, and frisking fillies,
(Clad all in linen, white as lilies).
The harvest swains and wenches bound
For joy, to see the hock cart crowned.
About the cart, hear, how the rout
Of rural younglings raise the shout;
Pressing before, some coming after,
Those with a shout, and these with laughter.
Some bless the cart; some kiss the sheaves;
Some prank them up with oaken leaves;

17 bents] couch-grass. 9 malkin] puppet. 20 prank] deck.

Some cross the fill-horse; some with great
Devotion, stroke the home-borne wheat;
While other rustics, less attent
To prayers than to merriment,
Run after with their breeches rent.
Well, on, brave boys, to your lord's hearth,
Glitt'ring with fire, where, for your mirth,
Ye shall see first the large and chief
Foundation of your feast, fat beef;
With upper stories, mutton, veal
And bacon (which makes full the meal),
With sev'ral dishes standing by,
As here a custard, there a pie,
And here all tempting frumenty.
And for to make the merry cheer,
If smirking wine be wanting here,
There's that which drowns all care, stout beer;
Which freely drink to your lord's health,
Then to the plough (the commonwealth),
Next to your flails, your fans, your vats;
Then to the maids with wheaten hats:
To the rough sickle, and the crook'd scythe,
Drink, frolic, boys, till all be blithe.
Feed, and grow fat; and as ye eat,
Be mindful, that the lab'ring neat
(As you) may have their fill of meat.
And know, besides, ye must revoke
The patient ox unto the yoke,
And all go back unto the plough
And harrow (though they're hanged up now).
And, you must know, your lord's word's true.
Feed him ye must, whose food fills you.
And that this pleasure is like rain,
Not sent ye for to drown your pain,
But for to make it spring again.

Hesperides.

21 fill-horse] draught horse. 45 neat] cattle.

Title. *Hock cart.* The cart which carried home the last of the harvest.

34. *frumenty.* Wheat boiled in milk, flavoured with sugar, spice, &c.

CEREMONIES FOR CHRISTMAS

Seventeenth Century

Come, bring with a noise,
My merry, merry boys,
The Christmas log to the firing;
While my good dame, she
Bids ye all be free;
And drink to your heart's desiring.

With the last year's brand
Light the new block, and
For good success in his spending,
On your psalteries play
That sweet luck may
Come while the log is a-teending.

Drink now the strong beer,
Cut the white loaf here,
The while the meat is a-shredding;
For the rare mince-pie,
And the plums stand by
To fill the paste that's a-kneading.

Hesperides.

12 a-teending] kindling.

CORINNA'S MAYING

Come, my Corinna, come; and coming, mark
How each field turns a street; each street a park,
Made green and trimm'd with trees! see how
Devotion gives each house a bough
Or branch! each porch, each door, ere this,
An ark, a tabernacle is,
Made up of white-thorn neatly interwove,
As if here were those cooler shades of love.
Can such delights be in the street,
And open fields, and we not see't?
Come, we'll abroad: and let's obey
The proclamation made for May:
And sin no more, as we have done, by staying;
But, my Corinna, come, let's go a Maying.

. . . . . .

—Come, let us go, while we are in our prime;
And take the harmless folly of the time!
We shall grow old apace, and die
Before we know our liberty.
Our life is short; and our days run
As fast away as does the sun.
And, as a vapour or a drop of rain,
Once lost, can ne'er be found again,
So when or you or I are made
A fable, song, or fleeting shade,
All love, all liking, all delight
Lies drown'd with us in endless night.
—Then while time serves, and we are but decaying,
Come, my Corinna! come, let's go a Maying.

Hesperides.

CROMWELL IN IRELAND

1649

Storming of Drogheda.

To the Honourable John Bradshaw, Esquire, President of the Council of State: These.

Dublin, 16th September, 1649.

SIR,

It hath pleased God to bless our endeavours at Tredah. After battery, we stormed it. The Enemy were about 3,000 strong in the Town. They made a stout resistance; and near 1,000 of our men being entered, the enemy forced them out again. But God giving a new courage to our men, they attempted again, and entered; beating the Enemy from their defences.

The Enemy had made three retrenchments, both to the right and left of where we entered; all which they were forced to quit. Being thus entered, we refused them quarter; having, the day before, summoned the Town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think Thirty of whole number escaped with their lives. Those that did, are in safe custody for the Barbadoes.

. . . . . .

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

Dublin, 17th September, 1649.

And being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the Town: and, I think, that night they put to the sword about 2,000 men;—divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the Bridge into the other part of the Town, where about 100 of them possessed St. Peter's Church

steeple, some the west Gate, and others a strong Round Tower next the Gate called St. Sunday's. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused. Whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter's Church to be fired, when one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames: 'God damn me, God confound me; I burn, I burn.'

The next day, the other two Towers were summoned; in one of which was about six or seven score; but they refused to yield themselves: and we knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away until their stomachs were come down. From one of the said Towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head; and every tenth man of the soldiers killed; and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other Tower were all spared, as to their lives only; and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes.

. . . . . .

It is remarkable that these people, at the first, set up the Mass in some places of the Town that had been monasteries; but afterwards grew so insolent that, the last Lord's day before the storm, the Protestants were thrust out of the great Church called St. Peter's, and they had public Mass there: and in this very place near 1,000 of them were put to the sword, fleeing thither for safety. I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two; the one of which was Father Peter Taaff, brother to the Lord Taaff, whom the soldiers took, the next day, and made an end of. The other was taken in the Round Tower, under the repute of a Lieutenant, and when he understood that the officers in that Tower had no quarter, he confessed he was a Friar; but that did not save him.

Surrender of Ross.

1649

The Request.

For General Cromwell: These.

Ross, 19th October, 1649.

SIR,

There wants but little of what I would propose;—which is, That such Townsmen as have a desire to depart, may have liberty within a convenient time to carry away themselves and goods; and liberty of conscience to such as shall stay; and that I may carry away such artillery and ammunition as I have in my command. If you be inclined to this, I will send, upon your honour as a safe-conduct, an Officer to conclude with you. To which your immediate answer is expected by,—Sir, your servant,

LUCAS TAAFF
(Governor of Ross).

The Reply.

For the Governor of Ross: These.

'Before Ross,' 19th October, 1649.

SIR,

To what I formerly offered, I shall make good. As for you carrying away any artillery or ammunition that you brought not with you, or that hath not come to you since you had the command of that place,—I must deny you that; expecting you to leave it as you found it.

As for that which you mention concerning liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any man's conscience. But if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, where the Parliament of England have power, *that* will not be allowed of. As for such of the Townsmen who desire to depart, and carry away themselves and goods (as you express), I engage

myself they shall have three months time so to do; and in the meantime shall be protected from violence in their persons and goods, as others under the obedience of the Parliament.

If you accept of this offer, I engage my honour for a punctual performance hereof. I rest,

Your servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell.
THOMAS CARLYLE (1795–1881).

DANGER OF TRAVELLING BY SEA AND LAND

1652

June 11th. About four in the afternoon, being at bowls on the green, we discovered a vessel, which proved to be that in which my wife was, and which got into the harbour (Rye) about eight that evening, to my no small joy. They had been three days at sea, and escaped the Dutch fleet, through which they passed, taken for fishers, which was great good fortune, there being seventeen bales of furniture and other rich plunder, which I bless God came all safe to land, together with my wife, and my Lady Browne, her mother, who accompanied her. My wife being discomposed by having been so long at sea, we set not forth towards home till the 14th, when hearing the small-pox was very rife in and about London, and Lady Browne having a desire to drink Tunbridge waters, I carried them thither, and stayed in a very sweet place, private and refreshing, and took the waters myself till the 23rd, when I went to prepare for their reception, leaving them for the present in their little cottage by the Wells.

The weather being hot, and having sent my man on before, I rode negligently under favour of the

shade, till, within three miles of Bromley, at a place called the Procession Oak, two cut-throats started out, and striking with long staves at the horse and taking hold of the reins, threw me down, took my sword, and hauled me into a deep thicket, some quarter of a mile from the highway, where they might securely rob me, as they soon did. What they got of money was not considerable, but they took two rings, the one an emerald with diamonds, the other an onyx, and a pair of buckles set with rubies and diamonds, which were of value, and after all bound my hands behind me, and my feet, having before pulled off my boots; they then set me up against an oak, with most bloody threats to cut my throat if I offered to cry out, or make any noise; for they should be within hearing, I not being the person they looked for. I told them that if they had not basely surprised me they should not have had so easy a prize, and that it would teach me never to ride near a hedge, since, had I been in the mid-way, they durst not have adventured on me; at which, they cocked their pistols, and told me they had long guns, too, and were fourteen companions. I begged for my onyx, and told them it being engraved with my arms would betray them; but nothing prevailed. My horse's bridle they slipped, and searched the saddle, which they pulled off, but let the horse graze, and then turning again bridled him and tied him to a tree, yet so as he might graze, and thus left me bound. My horse was perhaps not taken because he was marked and cropped on both ears, and well known on that road. Left in this manner, grievously was I tormented with flies, ants, and the sun, nor was my anxiety little how I should get loose in that solitary place, where I could neither hear nor see any creature but my poor horse and a few sheep straggling in the copse.

After near two hours attempting, I got my hands to turn palm to palm, having been tied back to back, and then it was long before I could slip the cord over

my wrists to my thumb, which at last I did, and then soon unbound my feet, and saddling my horse and roaming a while about, I at last perceived dust to rise, and soon after heard the rattling of a cart, towards which I made, and, by the help of two countrymen, I got back into the highway. I rode to Colonel Blount's, a great justiciary of the times, who sent out hue and cry immediately. The next morning, sore as my wrists and arms were, I went to London, and got 500 tickets printed and dispersed by an officer of Goldsmiths' Hall, and within two days had tidings of all I had lost, except my sword, which had a silver hilt, and some trifles.

The rogues had pawned one of my rings for a trifle to a goldsmith's servant, before the tickets came to the shop, by which means they escaped; the other ring was bought by a victualler, who brought it to a goldsmith, but he having seen the ticket seized the man. I afterwards discharged him on his protestation of innocence. Thus did God deliver me from these villains, and not only so, but restored what they took, as twice before He had graciously done, both at sea and land; I mean when I had been robbed by pirates, and was in danger of a considerable loss at Amsterdam; for which, and many, many signal preservations, I am extremely obliged to give thanks to God my Saviour.

. . . . . .

July 9th. One of the men who robbed me was taken; I was accordingly summoned to appear against him; and, on the 12th, was in Westminster Hall, but not being bound over, nor willing to hang the fellow, I did not appear, coming only to save a friend's bail; but the bill being found, he was turned over to the Old Bailey. In the meantime, I received a petition from the prisoner, whose father I understood was an honest old farmer in Kent. He was charged with other crimes, and condemned, but reprieved. I heard afterwards that, had it not been for his companion, a younger man, he would probably have killed me.

He was afterwards charged with some other crime, but, refusing to plead, was pressed to death.

JOHN EVELYN.

101. *pressed to death.* He received the punishment of 'peine forte et dure' inflicted on persons arraigned for felony who remained mute; they were crushed with heavy weights until they pleaded or died.

THE COMMONWEALTH

Public Worship.

1655

3rd December, Advent Sunday. There being no office at the church but extemporary prayers after the Presbyterian way, for now all forms were prohibited, and most of the preachers were usurpers, I seldom went to church upon solemn feasts; but either went to London, where some of the orthodox sequestered Divines did privately use the Common Prayer, administer sacraments, &c., or else I procured one to officiate in my house; wherefore, on the 10th, Dr. Richard Owen, the sequestered minister of Eltham, preached to my family in my library, and gave us the holy Communion.

25th. Christmas-day. No public offices in churches, but penalties on observers, so I was constrained to celebrate it at home.

JOHN EVELYN.

Treatment of Quakers.

1660

Much blood was shed this year, many of them that had been the old king's judges being hanged, drawn, and quartered. And amongst them that so suffered, Colonel Hacker was one, he who sent me prisoner from Leicester to London in Oliver's time, of which an account is given before. A sad day it was, and a repaying of blood with blood. For in the time of

Oliver Cromwell, when several men were put to death by him, being hanged, drawn, and quartered, for pretended treasons, I felt from the Lord God that their blood would be required; and I said as much then to several. And now upon the king's return, when several of them that had been against the king were put to death, as the others that were for the king had been before by Oliver; this was sad work, destroying of people contrary to the nature of Christians, who have the nature of lambs and sheep. But there was a secret hand in bringing this day upon that hypocritical generation of professors, who being got into power, grew proud, haughty, and cruel beyond others, and persecuted the people of God without pity. Therefore when friends were under cruel persecutions and sufferings in the Commonwealth's time, I was moved of the Lord to write unto friends to draw up accounts of their sufferings, and lay them before the justices at the sessions. And if they would not do them justice, then to lay it before the Parliament, and before the Protector and his council, that they might all see what was done under their government: and if they would not do justice, then to lay it before the Lord, who would hear the cries of the oppressed, and of the widows and fatherless, that they had made so. For that which we suffered for, and which our goods were spoiled for, was our obedience to the Lord in His power and in His spirit, who was able to help and to succour, and we had no helper in the earth but Him. And He did hear the cries of His people, and did bring an overflowing scourge over the heads of all our persecutors, which brought a quaking and a dread, and a fear amongst and on them all: so that they who had nicknamed us (who are the children of light) and in scorn called us Quakers, the Lord made them quake: and many of them would have been glad to have hid themselves amongst us; and some of them, through the distress that came upon them, did at length come to confess to the truth. Oh, the daily

reproaches, revilings, and beatings we underwent amongst them, even in the highways, because we could not put off our hats to them, and for saying Thou and Thee to them! Oh, the havoc and spoil the priests made of our goods, because we could not put into their mouths and give them tithes, besides casting into prisons, and besides the great fines laid upon us, because we could not swear! But for all these things did the Lord God plead with them. Yet some of them were so hardened in their wickedness, that when they were turned out of their places and offices, they said, 'If they had power, they would do the same again.' And when this day of overturning was come upon them, they said, 'It was all long of us.' Wherefore I was moved to write to them, and ask them, 'Did we ever resist them when they took away our ploughs and plough-gears, our carts and horses, our corn and cattle, our kettles and platters from us, and whipped us, and set us in the stocks, and cast us into prison, and all because we could not conform to their religions, manners, customs, and fashions? Did we ever resist them? Did we not give them our backs to beat, and our cheeks to pull off the hair, and our faces to spit on?'

Journal of George Fox (1624–91).

STATE OF THE PRISONS

1653

(See the extracts from Wesley and Howard, below.)

Whilst I was in the dungeon at Carlisle, one James Parnel, a little lad of about sixteen years of age, came to see me, and was convinced: and the Lord quickly made him a powerful minister of the word of life, and many were turned to Christ by him; though he lived not long: for, travelling into Essex, in the work of the ministry, in the year 1655, he was committed

to Colchester castle, where he endured very great hardships and sufferings, being put by the cruel jailer into a hole in the castle wall, called the *oven*, so high from the ground that he went up to it by a ladder; which being six feet too short, he was fain to climb from the ladder to the hole by a rope that was fastened above. And when friends would have given him a cord and a basket, to draw up his victuals in, the inhuman jailer would not suffer them, but forced him to go down and up by that short ladder and rope, to fetch his victuals (which for a long time he did), or else he might have famished in the hole. At length, his limbs being much benumbed with lying in that place, yet being constrained to go down to take up some victuals, as he came up the ladder again with his victuals in one hand, and caught at the rope with the other, he missed the rope, and fell down from a very great height upon the stones; by which fall he was exceedingly wounded in his head and arms, and his body much bruised; and he died in a short time after.

Journal of George Fox.

10. *the oven*, or Little Ease. A hole hewn out of a rock, devised for torture. 'Being corpulent it required the strength of four men to thrust him in, in doing which they crushed him till the blood gushed out of his mouth and nose.' (Quoted by N. Penney, *Journal of George Fox.*)

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

1650

(Cf. the extracts on pp. 91 and 254–5.)

In this time of my imprisonment, I was exceedingly exercised about the proceedings of the judges and magistrates in their courts of judicature. I was moved to write to the judges concerning their putting men to death for cattle, and money, and small matters: and to show them how contrary it was to

the law of God in old time; for I was under great suffering in my spirit because of it, and under the very sense of death; but standing in the will of God, an heavenly breathing arose in my soul to the Lord. Then did I see the heavens opened, and I rejoiced, and gave glory to God. So I wrote to the judges as followeth:

'I am moved to write unto you to take heed of putting men to death for stealing cattle or money, &c.; for the thieves in the old time were to make restitution, and if they had not wherewith, they were to be sold for their theft. Mind the laws of God in the Scriptures, and the Spirit that gave them forth, and let them be your rule in executing judgement; and show mercy, that you may receive mercy from God, the judge of all. Take heed of gifts and rewards, and of pride; for God doth forbid them, and they blind the eyes of the wise. I do not write to give liberty to sin; God hath forbidden it: but that you should judge according to His laws, and show mercy: for He delighteth in true judgement, and in mercy. I beseech you to mind these things, and prize your time, now you have it; and fear God, and serve Him; for He is a consuming fire.'

Journal of George Fox.

TREATMENT OF THE QUAKERS IN NEW ENGLAND

1661

I

(The following letter was sent by Charles II on hearing of the sufferings of the Quakers in New England.)

Charles Rex.

'Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Having been informed that several of our subjects amongst you, called Quakers, have been and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed,

and others, as hath been represented unto us, are in danger to undergo the like, we have thought fit to signify our pleasure in that behalf for the future: and do hereby require, that if there be any of those people called Quakers amongst you, now already condemned to suffer death or other corporal punishment; or that are imprisoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein; but that you forthwith send the said persons (whether condemned or imprisoned) over into this our kingdom of England, together with the respective crimes or offences laid to their charge: to the end such course may be taken with them here, as shall be agreeable to our laws and their demerits. And for so doing, these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 9th day of September, 1661, in the thirteenth year of our reign.

Subscribed: To our trusty and well-beloved John Endicott, Esq., and to all and every other the governor or governors of our plantations of New England, and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or hereafter shall be; and to all and every the ministers and officers of our plantations and colonies whatsoever within the continent of New England.

By his Majesty's command.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

II

I went also to Governor Winthrop, and discoursed with him about these matters; he assured me he had no hand in putting our Friends to death, or in any way persecuting of them; but was one of them that protested against it. Now these stingy persecutors of New England were a people that fled out of Old England

12 obnoxious] liable.

thither, from the persecution of the bishops here: but when they had got power into their hands, they so far exceeded the bishops in severity and cruelty, that whereas the bishops had made them pay twelve pence a Sunday (so called) for not coming to their worship here, they imposed a fine of five shillings a day upon such as should not conform to their will-worship there; and spoiled the goods of Friends that could not (for conscience' sake) pay it. Besides, many they imprisoned, divers they whipped, and that most cruelly; of some they cut off the ears, and some they hanged; as the books of Friends' sufferings in New England largely show, particularly a book written by George Bishop of Bristol, entitled, *New England Judged* (in two parts). Some of the old royalists were earnest with Friends to have prosecuted them, but we told them, we left them to the Lord, to whom vengeance belonged, and He would repay it. And the judgements of God have since fallen heavy on them; for the Indians have been raised up against them, and have cut off many of them.

Journal of George Fox.

A SQUIRE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

1653

There are many evidences of Sir Ralph's personal knowledge of the farmers and their families, and of his kindly interest in them and in the labourers. If his labour bill has to be diminished he can estimate exactly the qualities of the wain-men: ''*Tis better to put off young Harding, for he hath the least skill, and Gutteredge, for he is most peremptory and dogged.*' Gutteredge was, however, taken on again at the White House, and is planting mulberry trees at East Claydon in 1664.

A tenant farmer had pleaded for more time to

pay his rent, but when he was heavily in arrears he disappeared one summer morning with his stock. '*Collins cannot carry away sixty-eight sheep and twelve cows so as not to be found*,' wrote Sir Ralph to his steward; '*for if he went away on Saturday he durst not drive them on Sunday; ask Mr. Busby if I may not send hue and cry after him and the cattle, for since he played the knave so grossly, when he was so well used, make him an example; . . . never trust any tenant so much hereafter: but let them all know, if they clear not all arrears before the next half-year's day that shall follow, you will not trust them with their cattle, but sell them at the best rates you can, for forbearing of tenants, you see, tempts them to be knaves.*'

Sir Ralph writes to one of his creditors, Richard Curtis: '*You shall have interest to a farthing, but when I call for rent, my tenants protest they can make nothing either of their cheese or cattle, and I know it is too true, and corn is also at so low a rate, that I know not what we shall do.*' '*Land goes off in most parts of England, so near London for twenty or at least for nineteen years' purchase*,' writes Sir Ralph concerning his own estate, '*yet I would be content to take eighteen years' purchase for it, rather than pay interest still.*'

Besides the small farmers and the labourers in regular work owning cows, there were a number of destitute people who had been much on Sir Ralph's mind in his long lonely evenings abroad. At Christmas time 1648 he wrote: '*I am told that Claydon is poorer than ever, and that the poor want work*'; and again to Roades: '*About two years ago you wrote me word, that there was none at Claydon that asked alms at any man's door, either within the town or without. Tell me if there is any that do it now and who they are; . . . also name how many receive weekly or monthly assistance from the town, and what the town allows them.*' He wrote a careful memorandum on 'How to relieve Claydon Poor': those which receive no alms are perhaps, he says, '*fitter objects of charity than the beggars.*' He

desires Roades to confer with their rich neighbours about the apportionment of labour, '*so that all men that can work, want work, and are without work, shall be given work according to their abilities.*' He helps the young people to start in life by paying apprentice fees or by finding them places; he is willing to pay for the board of a poor little village child whom no one will own; '*but then security must be taken to keep it like a Christian.*' He will give immediate help to the most destitute; *6d.* a week to '*Old Newman and to Andrews and his wife 3d. a week apiece*, from me *towards their present subsistence*', '200 *faggots*' are to be divided between '*John Lea, Widow Croton, Nan Heath, and Judy May*'; but he longs to see something done for the aged poor more permanent and more business-like than these uncertain doles. He desires Roades to think over a scheme which he might start at '*some considerable charge*' if the village would keep it going by a common rate of which he would bear his full share. His own plan would now be called a co-operative cow club; the cows are to be bought by subscription, and to remain the property of the club (the club at first being Sir Ralph), the men to pay for the cow-run and to have the produce of the cow, taking more cows as they can afford it.

Verney Memoirs.

18. *hue and cry.* The summoning of the people of a township to pursue a suspected thief.

AFTER THE RESTORATION

I. The Reaction.

Newcastle, the 7th day of May, 1660.

SIR,—The country as well as the town abounds with vanities, now the reins of liberty and licentiousness are let loose. May-poles, and Plays, and Jugglers, and all things else now pass current; sin now appears

with a brazen face. That wicked spirit amongst men, that formerly was curbed and restrained, doth now audaciously and impudently show itself with boasting and gloriation.

Quoted in *The Year Book.*
WILLIAM HONE (1780–1842).

June 16th (1670). I went with some friends to the Bear Garden, where was cock-fighting, dog-fighting, bear and bull-baiting, it being a famous day for all these butcherly sports, or rather barbarous cruelties. The bulls did exceeding well, but the Irish wolf-dog exceeded, which was a tall greyhound, a stately creature indeed, who beat a cruel mastiff. One of the bulls tossed a dog full into a lady's lap as she sat in one of the boxes at a considerable height from the arena. Two poor dogs were killed and so all ended with the ape on horseback, and I most heartily weary of the rude and dirty pastime, which I had not seen, I think, in twenty years before.

JOHN EVELYN (1620–1706).

II. Religious Persecution.

1667

'Last First-day,' said she, 'he and his priests and people (the Presbyterians) met, and they had candles, and tobacco-pipes, and bread and cheese, and cold meat on the table; and they agreed beforehand, that if the officers should come in upon them, then they would leave their preaching and praying and fall to their cold meat.' 'Oh,' said I to him, 'is not this a shame to you, who persecuted and imprisoned us and spoiled our goods, because we would not follow you and be of your religion, and called us house-creepers, that now ye do not stand to your own religion yourselves? Did ye ever find our meetings stuffed with bread and cheese and tobacco-pipes? Or did you ever read in the Scriptures of any such practice

among the saints?' 'Why,' said the old man, 'we must be as wise as serpents.' 'Then', said I, 'this is the serpent's wisdom indeed.' 'But who', said I, 'would ever have thought that you Presbyterians and Independents who persecuted and imprisoned others, spoiled their goods, and whipped such as would not follow your religion, should now flinch yourselves, and not dare to stand to and own your own religion, but cover it with tobacco-pipes, flagons of drink, cold meat, and bread and cheese!' But this and such-like practices, I understood afterwards, were too common amongst them in times of persecution.

Journal of George Fox.

THE PLAGUE

June 27th, 1665

The men of Sir Ralph's generation still considered smoking a nasty habit, and Sir Roger Burgoyne, in planning a new wing at Wroxhall, designs a door into the Oval Garden to make it serve instead of a withdrawing room for 'tobacconists' and such good fellows and to free the house from all such unwelcome perfumes. But it was rapidly becoming fashionable, as a preservative against infection, and the Eton boys were ordered to smoke in school daily.

Sir Ralph has to confess '*the sickness is strangely increased and that several houses are shut up in Chancery Lane and several near it, but I trust God in mercy will preserve me and this family from that violent disease. I have been ill of late, so that the doctor hath purged and blooded me, and now I hope to get home within few days.*' Hospitable as he is, he is disinclined to share his home with some relations for an indefinite period, which rouses Penelope and Henry to wrath. She protests that she would be content with '*a thatched house in your town*'; and he writes: '*If you had had but a spark of love for me you would*

not have put these great inconveniences on me. All people are so fearful of the sickness that they will receive none, much less people they know not. If my sister Gardiner considers not our condition no better than you have done, then I shall enter your house on our return and put a red cross on the door and write and cry 'Lord, have mercy on us'. Henry's 'errand' is said to be to '*a cocking at Northampton*'.

Lady Elms, always nervous about health, has fled to Scarborough and thence to Knaresborough Spa, in company with the Ishams, the Sherards, and my she-cousin Danby. She writes to her brother: '*The first inst. we arrived at the nasty Spa, and have now began to drink the horrid sulphur water, which although as bad as is possible to be imagined, yet in my judgement pleasant, to all the doings we have within doors, the house and all that is in it being horridly nasty and crowded up with all sorts of company, which we eat with in a room as the spiders are ready to drop into my mouth, and sure has never been well cleaned nor aired this dozen years, it makes me much more sick than the nasty water. Did you but see me you would laugh heartily at me, but I say little of it to what I think, then to mend all this, they go to supper at half an hour after six, so I save a bit and sup by myself two hours after them, which is the pleasantest thing I do here. We are 16 of my uncle and aunt's family, and all in pension, at 10/- a week for ourselves, and 7/- for our servants with lodgings in; I have not heard from you I know not when, so in my opinion I live here as if there were nobody else in the world, but just what I see of these bumpkins. We met the Lady Compton and her sister the Lady Ann Compton at Doncaster, who assured me the Blackamoor's Head in Chancery Lane was shut up of the plague.*' The health resorts leave much to be desired. Lodgings at Astropp Wells which Lady Elms also visited were as objectionable; '*instead of the sweet woodbines and jessamine at Claydon, I have the stink of sour whey and cheese,*

which is so strong in my chamber I know not what to do . . . not a coal of fire can I get to burn one small bit of perfume, fast I must the night, here not being either master or maid at home, candle there is not a bit, so I have sent to borrow one.'

Verney Memoirs.

Extracts from the Diary of Samuel Pepys (1633–1703).

June 7th. The hottest day that ever I felt in my life. This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and 'Lord, have mercy upon us' writ there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that to my remembrance I ever saw.

June 29th. To White Hall, where the Court full of wagons and the people ready to go out of town. This end of the town every day grows very bad of the plague. The Mortality Bill is come to 267; which is about ninety more than the last: and of these but four in the City, which is a great blessing to us. Home; calling at Somerset House, where all were packing up too.

July 12th. A solemn fast-day for the plague growing upon us.

July 18th. I was much troubled this day to hear at Westminster, how the officers do bury the dead in the open Tuttle-fields, pretending want of room elsewhere; whereas the new chapel churchyard was walled-in at the public charge in the last plague-time, merely for want of room; and now none but such as are able to pay dear for it can be buried there.

July 20th. Walked to Redriffe, where I hear the sickness is, and indeed is scattered almost everywhere. There dying 1,089 of the plague this week. My Lady Cateret did this day give me a bottle of plague-water home with me.

July 27th. At home met the weekly Bill [of Mortality], where above 100 increased in the Bill, and

of them, in all about 1,700 of the plague, which hath made the officers this day resolve of sitting at Deptford, which put me to some consideration what to do.

August 3rd. To Dagenhams. All the way people, citizens, walking to and fro, inquire how the plague is in the City this week by the Bill; which by chance, at Greenwich, I had heard was 2,020 of the plague, and 3,000 and odd of all diseases. By and by met my Lord Crewe returning; Mr. Marr telling me by the way how a maid-servant of Mr. John Wright's (who lives thereabouts) falling sick of the plague, she was removed to an outhouse, and a nurse appointed to look to her; who, being once absent, the maid got out of the house at the window, and ran away. The nurse coming and knocking, and having no answer, believed she was dead, and went and told Mr. Wright so; who and his lady were in great strait what to do to get her buried. At last resolved to go to Burntwood hard by, being in the parish, and there get people to do it. But they would not; so he went home full of trouble, and in the way met the wench walking over the common, which frighted him worse than before; and was forced to send people to take her, which he did; and they got one of the pest coaches and put her into it to carry her to a pest house.

August 10th. By and by to the office, where we sat all the morning; in great trouble to see the Bill this week rise so high, to above 4,000 in all, and of them above 3,000 of the plague.

August 12th. The people die so, that now it seems they are fain to carry the dead to be buried by daylight, the nights not sufficing to do it in. And my Lord Mayor commands people to be within at nine at night all, as they say, that the sick may have liberty to go abroad for air. There is one also dead out of one of our ships at Deptford, which troubles us mightily; the *Providence*, fireship, which was just fitted to go to sea. But they tell me to-day no more sick on board. And this day W. Bodham tells me that

one is dead at Woolwich, not far from the Rope-yard. I am told, too, that a wife of one of the grooms at Court is dead at Salisbury; so that the King and Queen are speedily to be all gone to Milton. So God preserve us!

August 31st. Up; and after putting several things in order to my removal, to Woolwich; the plague having a great increase this week, beyond all expectation of almost 2,000, making the general Bill 7,000, odd 100; and the plague above 6,000. Thus this month ends with great sadness upon the public, through the greatness of the plague everywhere through the kingdom almost. Every day sadder and sadder news of its increase. In the City died this week 7,496, and of them 6,102 of the plague. But it is feared that the true number of the dead this week is near 10,000; partly from the poor that cannot be taken notice of, through the greatness of the number, and partly from the Quakers and others that will not have any bell ring for them.

September 6th. To London, to pack up more things; and there I saw fires burning in the streets, as it is through the whole City, by the Lord Mayor's order. Thence by water to the Duke of Albemarle's: all the way fires on each side of the Thames, and strange to see in broad daylight two or three burials upon the Bankside, one at the very heels of another: doubtless all of the plague; and yet at least forty or fifty people going along with every one of them.

September 7th. To the Tower, and there sent for the Weekly Bill, and find 8,252 dead in all, and of them 6,978 of the plague; which is a most dreadful number, and shows reason to fear that the plague hath got that hold that it will yet continue among us.

September 20th. To Lambeth. But, Lord! what a sad time it is to see no boats upon the River; and grass grows all up and down White Hall court, and nobody but poor wretches in the streets! And, which is worst of all, the Duke showed us the number of the

plague this week, brought in the last night from the Lord Mayor; that it is increased about 600 more than the last, which is quite contrary to our hopes and expectations, from the coldness of the late season. For the whole general number is 8,297, and of them the plague 7,165; which is more in the whole by above 50, than the biggest Bill yet: which is very grievous to us all.

(After this date the number of deaths began slowly to decrease.)

DRESS AT COURT

Seventeenth Century

1663. *October 30th.* £43 worse than I was last month. But it hath chiefly arisen from my layings-out in clothes for myself and wife; viz. for her about £12 and for myself £55, or thereabouts; having made myself a velvet cloak, two new cloth skirts, black, plain, both; a new shag gown, trimmed with gold buttons and twist, with a new hat, and silk tops for my legs . . . two periwigs, one whereof cost me £3, and the other 40*s*. I have worn neither yet, but will begin next month, God willing.

November 29th. Put on my best black cloth suit, trimmed with scarlet ribbons, very neat, with my cloak lined with velvet, and a new beaver, which altogether is very noble, with my black silk knit canons I bought a month ago.

1664. *February 10th.* I did give my wife's brother . . . a close-bodied light-coloured coat that I had by me, with a gold edging in each seam, that was the lace of my wife's best petticoat that she had on when I married her. He is going into Holland to seek his fortune.

February 15th. The Duke of York first put on a periwig to-day: but methought his hair cut short,

in order thereto, did look very prettily of itself, before he put on his periwig.

1665. *September 3rd.* Put on my coloured silk suit, very fine, and my new periwig, bought a good while since, but durst not wear, because the plague was in Westminster when I bought it; and it is a wonder what will be the fashion after the plague is done, as to periwigs, for nobody will dare to buy any hair, for fear of the infection, that it had been cut off of the heads of people dead of the plague.

1666. *June 11th.* Walking in the galleries at Whitehall, I find the ladies of honour dressed in their riding garbs, with coats and doubtlets with deep skirts, just for all the world like mine, and buttoned their doublets up the breast, with periwigs and with hats; so that, only for a long petticoat dragging under their men's coats, nobody would take them for women in any point whatever; which was an odd sight, and a sight that did not please me.

November 15th. To the ball at night at court, it being the Queen's birthday. Anon the house grew full, and the candles light, and the King and Queen and all the ladies sat: and it was indeed a glorious sight to see Mrs. Stewart in black and white lace, and her head and shoulders dressed with diamonds, and the like many great ladies more (only the queen none); and the King in his rich vest of some rich silk and silver trimming, as the Duke of York and all the dancers were, some of cloth of silver, and others of other sorts, exceeding rich; the ladies all most excellently dressed in rich petticoats and gowns, and diamonds, and pearls.

SAMUEL PEPYS (1633–1703).

15. *canons.* Ornamental rolls laid round the ends of the legs of breeches.

THE GREAT FIRE

1666

September 2nd (Lord's day). Some of our maids sitting up late last night to get things ready against our feast to-day, Jane called us up about three in the morning, to tell us of a great fire they saw in the City. So I rose, and slipped on my night-gown, and went to her window; and thought it to be on the back-side of Mark Lane at the farthest.

About seven rose again to dress myself, and there looked out at the window, and saw the fire not so much as it was, and further off. . . . By and by Jane comes and tells me that she hears that above 300 houses have been burned down to-night by the fire we saw, and that it is now burning down all Fish Street, by London Bridge. So I made myself ready presently, and walked to the Tower; . . . and there I did see the houses at that end of the bridge all on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side the end of the bridge; . . . which, among other people did trouble me for poor little Michell and our Sarah on the bridge. So down with my heart full of trouble, to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who tells me that it began this morning in the King's baker's house in Pudding Lane, and that it hath burned down St. Magnus's Church and most part of Fish Street already. So I down to the water-side, and there got a boat, and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michell's house, as far as the Old Swan, already burned that way, and the fire running further, that in a very little time it got as far as the Steelyard, while I was there. Everybody endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the river, or bringing them into lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats, or clambering from one pair of stairs by the

waterside to another. And among other things, the poor pigeons, I perceive, were loath to leave their houses, but hovered about the windows and balconies, till they burned their wings, and fell down. Having stayed, and in an hour's time seen the fire rage every way; and nobody, to my sight, endeavouring to quench it, but to remove their goods, and leave all to the fire; and, having seen it get as far as the Steelyard, and the wind mighty high, and driving it into the City; and everything, after so long a drought, proving combustible, even the very stones of churches, and, among other things, the poor steeple by which pretty Mrs. . . . lives, and whereof my old schoolfellow Elborough is parson, taken fire in the very top, and there burned till it fell down: I to Whitehall (with a gentleman with me, who desired to go off from the Tower, to see the fire, in my boat); and there up to the King's closet in the Chapel, where people came about me, and I did give them an account dismayed them all, and word was carried in to the King. So I was called for, and did tell the King and Duke of York what I saw; and that unless his Majesty did command houses to be pulled down, nothing could stop the fire. They seemed much troubled, and the King commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor from him, and command him to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way.... Here meeting with Captain Cocke, I in his coach, which he lent me, and Creed with me to Paul's, and there walked along Watling St. as well as I could, every creature coming away loaden with goods to save, and here and there sick people carried away in beds.

At last met my Lord Mayor in Canning Street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message he cried, like a fainting women, 'Lord! what can I do? I am spent: people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses; but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it.' That he needed no more soldiers; and that,

for himself, he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night. So he left me, and I him, and walked home, seeing people all almost distracted, and no manner of means used to quench the fire. The houses, too, so very thick thereabouts, and full of matter for burning, as pitch and tar, in Thames Street; and warehouses of oil, and wine, and brandy, and other things.

. . . . . .

September 4th. Now begins the practice of blowing up of houses in Tower Street, those next the Tower, which at first did frighten people more than anything; but it stopped the fire when it was done, it bringing down the houses to the ground in the same places they stood, and then it was easy to quench what little fire was in it, though it kindled nothing almost.

. . . . . .

September 5th. Going to the fire, I find by the blowing up of houses, and the great help given by the workmen out of the King's yards, sent up by Sir W. Pen, there is a good stop given to it, as well at Mark Lane end as ours; it having only burned the dial of Barking Church, and part of the porch, and was there quenched. I up to the top of Barking steeple, and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I ever saw; everywhere great fires; oil-cellars, and brimstone, and other things burning. I became afraid to stay there long, and therefore down again as fast as I could, the fire being spread as far as I could see it; and to Sir W. Pen's, and there ate a piece of cold meat, having eaten nothing since Sunday but the remains of Sunday's dinner. Here I met with Mr. Young and Whistler; and, having removed all my things, and received good hopes that the fire at our end is stopped, they and I walk into the town, and find Fenchurch Street, Gracious Street, and Lombard Street all in dust. The Exchange a sad sight, nothing standing there of all the statues of pillars, but Sir Thomas Gresham's picture in the corner. Into Moorfields (our

feet ready to burn, walking through the town among the hot coals), and find that full of people, and poor wretches carrying their goods there, and everybody keeping his goods together by themselves; (and a great blessing it is to them that it is fair weather for them to keep abroad night and day;) drank there, and paid twopence for a plain penny loaf. Thence homeward, having passed through Cheapside and Newgate market, all burned, and seen Anthony Joyce's house on fire; and took up, which I keep by me, a piece of glass of the Mercers' chapel in the street, where much more was, so melted and buckled with the heat of the fire like parchment. . . . So home at night, and find there good hopes of saving our office; but great endeavours of watching all night, and having men ready; and so we lodged them in the office, and had drink and bread and cheese for them. And I lay down and slept a good night about midnight: though when I rose, I heard that there had been a great alarm of French and Dutch being risen, which proved nothing.

September 7th. Up by five o'clock; and, blessed be God! find all well; and by water to Pane's Wharf. Walked thence, and saw all the town burned, and a miserable sight of Paul's Church, with all the roofs fallen, and the body of the choir fallen into St. Faith's; Paul's school also, Ludgate, and Fleet Street; my father's house, and the church, and a good part of the Temple the like.

SAMUEL PEPYS.

After the Fire. 1695

October 5th. I went to St. Paul's to see the choir, now finished as to the stone work, and the scaffolds struck both without and within, in that part. Some exceptions might perhaps be taken as to the placing columns on pilasters at the East tribunal. As to the rest it is a piece of architecture without reproach.

JOHN EVELYN.

107. *Gracious Street.* Gracechurch Street.

A HARD WINTER

1684

January 24th. The frost continuing more and more severe, the Thames before London was still planted with booths in formal streets, all sorts of trades and shops furnished, and full of commodities, even to a printing-press, where the people and ladies took a fancy to have their names printed, and the day and year set down when printed on the Thames: this humour took so universally, that it was estimated the printer gained £5 a day, for printing a line only, at sixpence a name, besides what he got by ballads, &c. Coaches plied from Westminster to the Temple, and from several other stairs to and fro, as in the streets, sleds, sliding with skates, a bull-baiting, horse and coach-races, puppet-plays and interludes, cooks, tippling, and other lewd places, so that it seemed to be a bacchanalian triumph, or carnival on the water, whilst it was a severe judgement on the land, the trees not only splitting as if lightning-struck, but men and cattle perishing in divers places, and the very seas so locked up with ice, that no vessels could stir out or come in. The fowls, fish, and birds, and all our exotic plants and greens, universally perishing. Many parks of deer were destroyed, and all sorts of fuel so dear, that there were great contributions to preserve the poor alive. Nor was this severe weather much less intense in most parts of Europe, even as far as Spain and the most southern tracts. London, by reason of the excessive coldness of the air hindering the ascent of the smoke, was so filled with the fuliginous steam of the sea-coal, that hardly could one see across the streets, and this filling the lungs with its gross particles, exceedingly obstructed the breast, so as one could scarcely breathe. Here was no water to be had from the pipes and engines, nor could the

brewers and divers other tradesmen work, and every moment was full of disastrous accidents.

JOHN EVELYN.

DEATH OF BUCKINGHAM

(1628–87)

'This Lord, yet more famous for his vices than his misfortunes, after having been possessed of about £50,000 a year, and passed through many of the highest posts in the kingdom, died in a remote inn in Yorkshire, reduced to the utmost poverty.'—POPE.

In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half-hung,
The floors of plaster and the walls of dung,
On once a flock-bed, but repaired with straw,
With tape-tied curtains, never meant to draw,
The George and Garter dangling from that bed
Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red,
Great Villiers lies—alas! how changed from him,
That life of pleasure, and that soul of whim!
Gallant and gay, in Cliveden's proud alcove
The bower of wanton Shrewsbury and love;
Or just as gay, at Council, in a ring
Of mimic statesmen, and their merry King.
No wit to flatter left of all his store!
No fool to laugh at, which he valued more.
There, victor of his health, of fortune, friends,
And fame, this lord of useless thousands ends.

ALEXANDER POPE (1688–1744).

5. *The George* is the jewel worn by a Knight of the Garter.
9. *Cliveden.* A palace on the Thames, built by Buckingham.
10. *Shrewsbury.* The Countess of Shrewsbury held Buckingham's horse during the duel in which he killed her husband. Their portraits are in the National Portrait Gallery.

LILLIBURLERO

1686

Bishop Burnet says: 'This foolish ballad made an impression on James II's army that cannot be imagined by those who saw it not.' Wharton boasted that he had sung the King out of three kingdoms.

'Lilliburlero' and 'Bullen-a-la' are said to have been passwords used by the Irish Catholics in the massacre of 1641.

Ho! brother Teague! dost hear de Decree!
Lilli burlero bullen a la.
Dat we shall have a new Debittie.
Lilli burlero bullen a la.
Lero, lero, lero, lero, lilli burlero bullen a la.
Lero, lero, lero, lero, lilli burlero bullen a la.

Ho! by my shoul! it is a Talbot;
Lilli burlero bullen a la.
And he will cut all de English throat!
Lilli burlero bullen a la, &c.

But if *Dispence* do come from the Pope;
Lilli burlero bullen a la.
We'll hang *Magno Carto* and demselves in a rope!
Lilli burlero bullen a la, &c.

And the good Talbot is made a Lord;
Lilli burlero bullen a la.
And he, with brave Lads, is coming aboard!
Lilli burlero bullen a la, &c.

Who! all in France have taken a swear,
Lilli burlero bullen a la.
Dat day will have no Protestant heir!
Lilli burlero bullen a la, &c.

Oh, but why does he stay behind?
Lilli burlero bullen a la.
Ho! by my shoul! 'tis a Protestant wind!
Lilli burlero bullen a la, &c.

11 *Dispence*] dispensation.

Now, Tyrconnel is come ashore;
Lilli burlero bullen a la.
And we shall have Commissions gillore!
Lilli burlero bullen a la, &c.

And he dat will not go to Mass,
Lilli burlero bullen a la.
Shall turn out, and look like an ass!
Lilli burlero bullen a la, &c.

There was an old prophecy, found in a bog,
Lilli burlero bullen a la.
That Ireland be governed by an ass and a dog.
Lilli burlero bullen a la, &c.

And now this old prophecy is come to pass.
Lilli burlero bullen a la.
Talbot is the dog; and Tyrconnel's the ass!
Lilli burlero bullen a la, &c.

LORD WHARTON (1640–1715).

3. *Debittie.* Deputy. Richard Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnel, was made Lord Deputy of Ireland by James II in 1687. He distinguished himself by encouraging the troops to ill-treat the Protestants. He was defeated at the Boyne in 1690.

41. There is another reading 'James is the ass'; which, as Talbot and Tyrconnel were the same, seems more probable.

THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

1707

And now, that posterity may not be ignorant in what age so excellent a history was written (which would otherwise, no doubt, be the subject of its inquiries) I think it proper to inform the learned of future times that it was compiled when Lewis

29 gillore] galore.

XIV was King of France, and Philip his grandson of Spain; when England and Holland, in conjunction with the emperor and the allies, entered into a war against these two princes, which lasted ten years under the management of the Duke of Marlborough, and was put to a conclusion by the treaty of Utrecht under the ministry of the Earl of Oxford in the year 1713.

Many at that time did imagine the history of John Bull, and the personages mentioned in it, to be allegorical, which the author would never own. Notwithstanding, to indulge the reader's fancy and curiosity, I have printed at the bottom of the page the supposed allusions of the most obscure parts of the story.

The History of John Bull.
JOHN ARBUTHNOT (1667–1735).

I. Before the Union.

The Character of John Bull's Sister Peg, with the Quarrels that happened between Master and Miss in their Childhood.

John had a sister, a poor girl that had been starved at nurse; anybody would have guessed Miss to have been bred up under the influence of a cruel stepdame, and John to be the fondling of a tender mother. John looked ruddy and plump, with a pair of cheeks like a trumpeter; Miss looked pale and wan, as if she had the green sickness; and no wonder, for John was the darling, he had all the good bits, was crammed with good pullet, chicken, pig, goose, and capon; while Miss had only a little oatmeal and water, or a dry crust without butter. John had his golden pippins, peaches, and nectarines; poor Miss, a crab-apple, sloe, or a blackberry. Master lay in the best apartment, with his bedchamber towards the south sun. Miss lodged in a garret exposed to the north wind, which shrivelled her countenance. However, this usage, though it stunted the girl in her growth, gave her a

hardy constitution; she had life and spirit in abundance, and knew when she was ill-used: now and then she would seize upon John's commons, snatch a leg of a pullet, or a bit of good beef, for which they were sure to go to fisticuffs. Master was indeed too strong for her, but Miss would not yield in the least point; but even when Master had got her down, she would scratch and bite like a tiger; when he gave her a cuff on the ear she would prick him with her knitting-needle. John brought a great chain one day to tie her to the bedpost, for which affront Miss aimed a penknife at his heart. In short, these quarrels grew up to rooted aversions; they gave one another nicknames: she called him gundy-guts, and he called her lousy Peg, though the girl was a tight clever wench as any was, and through her pale looks you might discern spirit and vivacity, which made her not, indeed, a perfect beauty, but something that was agreeable. It was barbarous in parents not to take notice of these early quarrels, and make them live better together, such domestic feuds proving afterwards the occasion of misfortunes to them both. Peg had, indeed, some odd humours, and comical antipathies, for which John would jeer her. 'What think you of my sister Peg,' says he, 'that faints at the sound of an organ, and yet will dance and frisk at the noise of a bagpipe?' 'What 's that to you, gundy-guts?' quoth Peg, 'everybody 's to choose their own music.' Then Peg had taken a fancy not to say her Paternoster, which made people imagine strange things of her. Of the three brothers that have made such a clutter in the world—Lord Peter, Martin, and Jack, Jack had of late been her inclination. Lord Peter she detested, nor did Martin stand much better in her good graces; but Jack had found the way to her heart. I have often admired, what charms she discovered in that awkward booby.

52 gundy-guts] gluttonous fellow. 74 admired] wondered.

II. The Act of Union.

How the relations reconciled John and his sister Peg, and what return Peg made to John's message.

John Bull, otherwise a good-natured man, was very hard-hearted to his sister Peg, chiefly from an aversion he had conceived in his infancy. While he flourished, kept a warm house, and drove a plentiful trade, poor Peg was forced to go hawking and peddling about the streets selling knives, scissors, and shoe-buckles; now and then carried a basket of fish to the market; sewed, spun, and knit for a livelihood, till her fingers' ends were sore; and when she could not get bread for her family, she was forced to hire them out at journey-work to her neighbours. Yet in these her poor circumstances she still preserved the air and mien of a gentlewoman, a certain decent pride that extorted respect from the haughtiest of her neighbours; when she came in to any full assembly, she would not yield the *pas* to the best of them. If one asked her, 'Are not you related to John Bull?' 'Yes,' says she, 'he has the honour to be my brother.' So Peg's affairs went till all the relations cried out shame upon John for his barbarous usage of his own flesh and blood; that it was an easy matter for him to put her in a creditable way of living, not only without hurt, but with advantage to himself, seeing she was an industrious person, and might be serviceable to him in his way of business. 'Hang her, jade,' quoth John; 'I can't endure her as long as she keeps that rascal Jack's company.' They told him the way to reclaim her was to take her into his house, that by conversation the childish humours of their younger days might be worn out. These arguments were enforced by a certain incident. It happened that John was at that time about making his will and entailing his estate, the very same in which Nic. Frog is named executor. Now, his sister Peg's name being in the entail, he could not make a thorough settlement without her

consent. There was, indeed, a malicious story went about as if John's last wife had fallen in love with Jack as he was eating custard on horseback; that she persuaded John to take his sister into the house, the better to drive on the intrigue with Jack, concluding he would follow his mistress Peg. All I can infer from this story is, that when one has got a bad character in the world people, will report and believe anything of one, true or false. But to return to my story; when Peg received John's message, she huffed and stormed like the devil: 'My brother John', quoth she, 'is grown wondrous kind-hearted all of a sudden, but I meikle doubt whether it be not mair for their own conveniency than for my good; he draws up his writs and his deeds, forsooth, and I must set my hand to them, unsight, unseen. I like the young man he has settled upon well enough, but I think I ought to have a valuable consideration for my consent. He wants my poor little farm because it makes a nook in his park wall; ye may e'en tell him he has mair than he makes good use of; he gangs up and down drinking, roaring, and quarrelling, through all the country markets, making foolish bargains in his cups, which he repents when he is sober; like a thriftless wretch, spending the goods and gear that his forefathers won with the sweat of their brows: light come, light go, he cares not a farthing. But why should I stand surety for his contracts? The little I have is free, and I can call it my awn; hame's hame, let it be never so homely. I ken him well enough, he could never abide me, and, when he has his ends, he'll e'en use me as he did before. I'm sure I shall be treated like a poor drudge; I shall be set to tend the bairns, darn the hose, and mend the linen. Then there 's no living with that old carline his mother; she rails at Jack, and Jack's an honester man than any of her kin: I shall be plagued with her spells and her Pater-nosters, and silly old-world ceremonies: I mun never pare my nails on a Friday, nor begin a journey on Childermas

Day; and I mun stand becking and binging as I gang out and into the hall. Tell him he may e'en gang his gate; I'll have nothing to do with him; I'll stay like the poor country mouse, in my awn habitation.' So Peg talked: but for all that, by the interposition of good friends, and by many a bonny thing that was sent, and many more that were promised Peg, the matter was concluded, and Peg taken into the house upon certain articles; one of which was that she might have the freedom of Jack's conversation, and might take him for better and for worse, if she pleased; provided always he did not come into the house at unreasonable hours and disturb the rest of the old woman, John's mother.

The History of John Bull.

20. *Peg.* The nation and church of Scotland.
61. *odd humours.* Love of Presbytery.
70. *Lord Peter.* The Roman Catholic Church.
Martin. Luther.
Jack. Calvin, the founder of the Presbyterian form of worship.
109. *his will.* The Act of Succession of 1688.
110. *Nic. Frog.* The Dutch.
114. *fallen in love with Jack.* A Presbyterian had been Lord Mayor of London.
128. *the young man.* George I.
147. *his mother.* The Church of England.
151. *Childermas Day.* Festival of the Holy Innocents (Dec. 28).
160. *certain articles.* The Act of Toleration, 1689.

THE STATUS OF THE CLERGY

1710

From my own Apartment, November 24.

To the Censor of Great Britain.

SIR,

I am at present under very great difficulties, which it is not in the power of any one, besides yourself, to redress. Whether or no you shall think it a proper case to come before your Court of Honour, I cannot tell; but thus it is: I am a chaplain to an honourable family, very regular at the hours of devotion, and, I hope, of an unblameable life; but for not offering to rise at the second course, I found my patron and his lady very sullen and out of humour, though at first I did not know the reason of it. At length, when I happened to help myself to a jelly, the lady of the house, otherwise a devout woman, told me, 'That it did not become a man of my cloth to delight in such frivolous food;' but as I still continued to sit out the last course, I was yesterday informed by the butler that his Lordship had no further occasion for my service. All which is humbly submitted to your consideration by,

Sir,

Your most humble servant, &c.

. . . . . .

In this case I know not which to censure, the patron, or the chaplain; the insolence of power, or the abjectness of dependence. For my own part, I have often blushed to see a gentleman, whom I know to have much more wit and learning than myself, and who was bred up with me at the University upon the same foot of a liberal education, treated in such an ignominious manner, and sunk beneath those of his own rank, by reason of that character which ought to bring him honour. This deters men of generous minds from

placing themselves in such a station of life, and by that means frequently excludes persons of quality from the improving and agreeable conversation of a learned and obsequious friend.

Tatler No. 255.
JOSEPH ADDISON (1672-1719).

DUELLING

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

London, November 15, 1712.

May 1711. Dr. Freind came this morning to visit Atterbury's lady and children as physician, and persuaded me to go with him to town in his chariot. He told me he had been an hour before with Sir Cholmley Dering, Charles Dering's nephew, and head of that family in Kent, for which he is knight of the shire. He said he left him dying of a pistol-shot quite through the body, by one Mr. Thornhill. They fought at sword and pistol this morning in Tuttle Fields [Tothill Fields]; their pistols so near, that the muzzles touched. Thornhill discharged first, and Dering having received the shot discharged his pistol as he was falling, so it went into the air. The story of this quarrel is long. Thornhill had lost seven teeth by a kick in the mouth from Dering, who had first knocked him down: this was about a fortnight ago. Dering was next week to be married to a fine young lady. This makes a noise here, but you won't value it.

. . . . . .

August 1711. Thornhill, who killed Sir Cholmley Dering, was murdered by two men on Turnham Green last Monday night: as they stabbed him, they bid him remember Sir Cholmley Dering. They had quarrelled at Hampton Court, and followed and stabbed him on horseback. We have only a Grub Street paper of it, but I believe it is true. I went

37 obsequious] dutiful.

myself through Turnham Green the same night, which was yesterday.

. . . . . .

Before this comes to your hands, you will have heard of the most terrible accident that hath almost ever happened. This morning, at eight, my man brought me word that the Duke of Hamilton had fought with Lord Mohun, and killed him, and was brought home wounded. I immediately sent him to the Duke's house, in St. James's Square; but the porter could hardly answer for tears, and a great rabble was about the house. In short, they fought at seven this morning. The dog Mohun was killed on the spot; and, while the Duke was over him, Mohun, shortening his sword, stabbed him in at the shoulder to the heart. The Duke was helped toward the cake-house by the Ring in Hyde Park, (where they fought,) and died on the grass, before he could reach the house; and was brought home in his coach by eight, while the poor Duchess was asleep. Macartney, and one Hamilton, were the seconds, who fought likewise, and are both fled. I am told, that a footman of Lord Mohun's stabbed the Duke of Hamilton; and some say Macartney did so too. Mohun gave the affront, and yet sent the challenge. I am infinitely concerned for the poor Duke, who was a frank, honest, good-natured man. I loved him very well, and I think he loved me better. He had the greatest mind in the world to have me go with him to France, but durst not tell it me; and those he did tell, said I could not be spared, which was true. They have removed the poor Duchess to a lodging in the neighbourhood, where I have been with her two hours, and am just come away. I never saw so melancholy a scene; for indeed all reasons for real grief belong to her; nor is it possible for anybody to be a greater loser in all regards. She has moved my very soul.

. . . . . .

Journal to Stella.

JONATHAN SWIFT (1667–1745).

PARTY SPIRIT

Eighteenth Century

July 24th, 1711. My worthy friend Sir Roger, when we are talking of the malice of parties, very frequently tells us an accident that happened to him when he was a schoolboy, which was at a time when the feuds ran high between the Roundheads and Cavaliers. This worthy Knight, being then but a stripling, had occasion to inquire which was the way to St. Anne's Lane; upon which the person whom he spoke to, instead of answering his question, called him a young popish cur, and asked him who had made Anne a saint! The boy, being in some confusion, inquired of the next he met, which was the way to Anne's Lane; but was called a prickeared cur for his pains, and instead of being shown the way, was told that she had been a saint before he was born, and would be one after he was hanged. Upon this, says Sir Roger, I did not think fit to repeat the former question, but going into every lane of the neighbourhood, asked what they called the name of that lane. By which ingenious artifice he found out the place he inquired after, without giving offence to any party. Sir Roger generally closes this narrative with reflections on the mischief that parties do in the country; how they spoil good neighbourhood, and make honest gentlemen hate one another; besides that they manifestly tend to the prejudice of the land-tax, and the destruction of the game.

July 25th. I do not know whether I have observed in any of my former papers, that my friends Sir Roger de Coverley and Sir Andrew Freeport are of different principles, the first of them inclined to the landed and the other to the moneyed interest. This humour is so moderate in each of them, that it proceeds no farther than to an agreeable raillery,

which very often diverts the rest of the club. I find however that the Knight is a much stronger Tory in the country than in town, which, as he has told me in my ear, is absolutely necessary for the keeping up his interest. In all our journey from London to his house we did not so much as bait at a Whig inn: or if by chance the coachman stopped at a wrong place, one of Sir Roger's servants would ride up to his master full speed, and whisper to him that the master of the house was against such an one in the last election. This often betrayed us into hard beds and bad cheer; for we were not so inquisitive about the inn as the inn-keeper; and, provided our landlord's principles were sound, did not take any notice of the staleness of his provisions. This I found still the more inconvenient, because the better the host was, the worse generally were his accommodations; the fellow knowing very well that those who were his friends would take up with coarse diet and hard lodging. For these reasons, all the while I was upon the road, I dreaded entering into an house of any one that Sir Roger had applauded for an honest man.

Spectator No. 126.
JOSEPH ADDISON.

THE TORY FOX-HUNTER

For the honour of his Majesty, and the safety of his government, we cannot but observe that those who have appeared the greatest enemies to both are of that rank of men who are commonly distinguished by the title of Fox-hunters. As several of these have had no part of their education in cities, camps, or courts, it is doubtful whether they are of greater ornament or use to the nation in which they live. It would be an everlasting reproach to politics, should such men be able to overturn an establishment which

has been formed by the wisest laws, and is supported by the ablest heads. The wrong notions and prejudices which cleave to many of these country gentlemen, who have always lived out of the way of being better informed, are not easy to be conceived by a person who has never conversed with them.

That I may give my readers an image of these rural statesmen, I shall, without further preface, set down an account of a discourse I chanced to have with one of them some time ago. I was travelling towards one of the remote parts of England, when about three o'clock in the afternoon, seeing a country gentleman trotting before me with a spaniel by his horse's side, I made up to him. Our conversation opened, as usual, upon the weather; in which we were very unanimous; having both agreed that it was too dry for the season of the year. My fellow-traveller, upon this, observed to me that there had been no good weather since the Revolution. I was a little startled at so extraordinary a remark, but would not interrupt him till he proceeded to tell me of the fine weather they used to have in King Charles the Second's reign. I only answered that I did not see how the badness of the weather could be the King's fault; and, without waiting for his reply, asked him whose house it was we saw upon a rising ground at a little distance from us. He told me it belonged to an old fanatical cur, Mr. Such-a-one. 'You must have heard of him,' says he, 'he's one of the Rump.' I knew the gentleman's character upon hearing his name, but assured him that to my knowledge he was a good churchman: 'Ay!' says he, with a kind of surprise, 'we were told in the country that he spoke twice, in the Queen's time, against taking off the duties upon French claret.' This naturally led us into the proceedings of late parliaments, upon which occasion he affirmed roundly, that there had not been one good law passed since King William's accession to the throne, except the act for preserving the game. I had a mind to see

him out, and therefore did not care for contradicting him. 'Is it not hard', says he, 'that honest gentlemen should be taken into custody of messengers to prevent them from acting according to their consciences? But', says he, 'what can we expect when a parcel of factious . . .' He was going on in great passion, but chanced to miss his dog, who was amusing himself about a bush, that grew at some distance behind us. We stood still till he had whistled him up; when he fell into a long panegyric upon his spaniel, who seemed, indeed, excellent in his kind: but I found the most remarkable adventure of his life was, that he had once like to have worried a dissenting teacher. The master could hardly sit on his horse for laughing all the while he was giving me the particulars of his story, which I found had mightily endeared his dog to him, and as he himself told me, had made him a great favourite among all the honest gentlemen of the country. We were at length diverted from this piece of mirth by a post-boy, who winding his horn at us, my companion gave him two or three curses, and left the way clear for him. 'I fancy', said I, 'that post brings news from Scotland. I shall long to see the next Gazette.' 'Sir,' says he, 'I make it a rule never to believe any of your printed news. We never see, sir, how things go, except now and then in Dyer's Letter, and I read that more for the style than the news. The man has a clever pen, it must be owned. But is it not strange that we should be making war upon Church of England men with Dutch and Swiss soldiers, men of antimonarchical principles? These foreigners will never be loved in England, sir; they have not that wit and good breeding that we have.' I must confess I did not expect to hear my new acquaintance value himself upon these qualifications, but finding him such a critic upon foreigners, I asked him if he had ever travelled; he told me, he did not know what travelling was good for, but to teach a man to ride the great horse, to jabber French, and to talk

against passive obedience; to which he added, that he scarce ever knew a traveller in his life who had not forsaken his principles, and lost his hunting-seat. 'For my part,' says he, 'I and my father before me have always been for passive obedience, and shall be always for opposing a prince who makes use of ministers that are of another opinion. But where do you intend to inn to-night? (for we were now come in sight of the next town;) I can help you to a very good landlord if you will go along with me. He is a lusty, jolly fellow, that lives well, at least three yards in the girth, and the best Church of England man upon the road.' I had a curiosity to see this High-Church innkeeper, as well as to enjoy more of the conversation of my fellow-traveller, and therefore readily consented to set our horses together for that night. . . . Upon our arrival at the inn, my companion fetched out the jolly landlord, who knew him by his whistle. Many endearments and private whispers passed between them; though it was easy to see by the landlord's scratching his head that things did not go to their wishes. The landlord had swelled his body to a prodigious size, and worked up his complexion to a standing crimson by his zeal for the prosperity of the Church, which he expressed every hour of the day, as his customers dropped in, by repeated bumpers. He had not time to go to church himself, but, as my friend told me in my ear, had headed a mob at the pulling down of two or three meeting-houses. While supper was preparing, he enlarged upon the happiness of the neighbouring shire; 'For', says he, 'there is scarce a Presbyterian in the whole county, except the bishop.' In short, I found by his discourse that he had learned a great deal of politics, but not one word of religion, from the parson of his parish; and, indeed, that he had scarce any other notion of religion, but that it consisted in hating Presbyterians. I had a remarkable instance of his notions in this particular. Upon seeing a poor decrepit old woman pass under the

window where we sat he desired me to take notice of her; and afterwards informed me, that she was generally reputed a witch by the country people, but that, for his part, he was apt to believe she was a Presbyterian.

Supper was no sooner served in, than he took occasion from a shoulder of mutton that lay before us, to cry up the plenty of England, which would be the happiest country in the world, provided we would live within ourselves. Upon which, he expatiated on the inconveniences of trade, that carried from us the commodities of our country, and made a parcel of upstarts as rich as men of the most ancient families of England. He then declared frankly, that he had always been against all treaties and alliances with foreigners: 'Our wooden walls', says he, 'are our security, and we may bid defiance to the whole world, especially if they should attack us when the militia is out.' I ventured to reply, that I had as great an opinion of the English fleet as he had; but I could not see how they could be paid, and manned, and fitted out, unless we encouraged trade and navigation. He replied, with some vehemence, that he would undertake to prove trade would be the ruin of the English nation. I would fain have put him upon it; but he contented himself with affirming it more eagerly, to which he added two or three curses upon the London merchants, not forgetting the directors of the Bank. After supper he asked me if I was an admirer of punch; and immediately called for a sneaker. I took this occasion to insinuate the advantages of trade, by observing to him that water was the only native of England that could be made use of on this occasion: but that the lemons, the brandy, the sugar, and the nutmeg were all foreigners. This put him into some confusion; but the landlord, who overheard me, brought him off, by affirming, that for constant

157 sneaker] small goblet.

use, there was no liquor like a cup of English water, provided it had malt enough in it. . . .

Freeholder No. 22.
JOSEPH ADDISON.

Title. *The Tory Fox-hunter.* This essay was written when the quarrels and intrigues of Whigs and Tories were at their height.

39. *the Rump.* The few members of the Long Parliament who remained after Pride's Purge in 1648.

75. *Dyer's Letter.* The News Letter, a weekly paper of strong Jacobite principles.

89. *passive obedience.* The doctrine that active opposition to the King was sinful.

156. *the Bank.* The Bank of England, founded 1694, and strongly supported by the Whig Government.

BULL BAITING

(See pp. 145-6.)

At a meeting of the Corporation, on the 11th of November, 1726, the following entry was made in the general record book:

'Whereas it hath been found by Experience that the annual custom of Bull Baiting within this town of Preston hath tended to introduce very great disorders amongst the Inhabitants of the Corporation and hath been frequently the Occasion of Riots, Tumults, Affrays, and bloodshed (and particularly in a late instance betwixt the Townsmen and Soldiers at the time of a Bull bait). And that the power and authority of the magistrate or other civil Superiors hath not been sufficient upon those occasions to restrain the turbulent and unruly passions of the Common people. Therefore this Council doth think fit to Censure and Condemn the said practice of Bull Baiting as dangerous to the public peace and inconvenient and pernicious to Civil Society, and doth hereby Agree and Order and direct that hereafter there shall be no bull bought or

baited at the Charge of the Corporation and that any such expense be hereafter disallowed in the Bailiff's accounts.'

History of Preston.
A. HEWITSON.

Friday, March 10, 1742. I rode once more to Pensford at the earnest request of several serious people. The place where they desired me to preach was a little green spot, near the town. But I had no sooner begun than a great company of rabble, hired (as we afterwards found) for that purpose, came furiously upon us, bringing a bull, which they had been baiting, and now strove to drive in among the people. But the beast was wiser than his drivers; and continually ran either on one side of us or the other, while we quietly sang praise to God, and prayed for about an hour. The poor wretches finding themselves disappointed, at length seized upon the bull, now weak and tired, after having been so long torn and beaten both by dogs and men; and, by main strength, partly dragged, and partly thrust, him in among the people.

When they had forced their way to the little table on which I stood, they strove several times to throw it down, by thrusting the helpless beast against it, who, of himself, stirred no more than a log of wood. I once or twice put aside his head with my hand, that the blood might not drop upon my clothes; intending to go on as soon as the hurry should be a little over. But the table falling down, some of our friends caught me in their arms, and carried me right away on their shoulders; while the rabble wreaked their vengeance on the table, which they tore bit from bit. We went a little way off, where I finished my discourse, without any noise or interruption.

Journal of John Wesley (1703–91).

THE VICAR OF BRAY

1720

In good King Charles's golden days,
When loyalty no harm meant,
A zealous High-Churchman was I,
And so I got preferment.
To teach my flock I never miss'd
That kings by God are appointed;
And damned are those that dare resist
Or touch the Lord's anointed.

And this is law that I'll maintain
Until my dying day, sir:
That whatsoever king shall reign,
I'll be the Vicar of Bray, sir.

When royal James obtained the crown,
And Popery grew in fashion,
The penal laws I hooted down,
And read the Declaration.
The Church of Rome I found would fit
Full well my constitution;
And I had been a Jesuit,
But for the Revolution.

And this is law, &c.

When William was our King declared
To ease the nation's grievance,
With this new wind about I steer'd
And swore to him allegiance.
Old principles I did revoke,
Set conscience at a distance;
Passive obedience was a joke,
A jest was non-resistance.

And this is law, &c.

When royal Anne became our Queen,
The Church of England's glory,
Another face of things was seen,
And I became a Tory,
Occasional conformists base,
I damned their moderation;
And thought the Church in danger was
By such prevarication.

And this is law, &c.

When George in pudding-time came o'er,
And moderate men look'd big, sir,
I turned a cat-in-pan once more,
And so became a Whig, sir.
And thus preferment I procured
From our new faith's defender;
And almost every day abjured
The Pope and the Pretender.

And this is law, &c.

Th' illustrious house of Hanover
And Protestant succession,
To them I do allegiance swear—
While they can keep possession;
For in my faith and loyalty
I never more will falter,
And George my lawful king shall be—
Until the times do alter.

And this is law, &c.

ANONYMOUS.

Title. *Vicar of Bray.* Simon Aleyn was Vicar of Bray, in Berkshire, from 1540 to 1588, during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. He changed his faith three times, being twice a Papist and twice a Protestant, in order to adhere to his one principle, which was 'to live and die vicar of Bray'. This ballad places him in the reigns of Charles II, James II, William III, Anne, and George I.

28, 29. *Passive obedience and non-resistance.* The non-jurors, who included five of the 'seven bishops', refused to take the oath

of allegiance to William III, maintaining the doctrine of passive obedience or non-resistance: that it was wrong actively to oppose God's anointed, in this case, James II.

35. *Occasional conformists.* Dissenters who took the sacrament of Holy Communion once a year simply to comply with the conditions of the Test Act for holding office.

'*I was early with the Secretary* (*Bolingbroke*), *but he was gone to his devotion and to receive the sacrament. It was not for piety, but for employment, according to Act of Parliament*' (Swift's *Journal*, 1710–14).

42. *cat-in-pan.* Cf. *tourner côte en peine*, i.e. to change sides; become a turncoat.

47. *Pretender.* The 'Old Pretender'.

CONDITION OF IRELAND

c. 1720

(See below, pp. 256–61.)

I conceive this poor unhappy island to have a title to some indulgence from England, not only upon the score of Christianity, natural equity, and the general rights of mankind, but chiefly on account of that immense profit they receive from us; without which, that kingdom would make a very different figure in Europe from what it doth at present.

The rents of land in Ireland, since they have been of late so enormously raised and screwed up, may be computed to about two millions; whereof one-third part, at least, is directly transmitted to those who are perpetual absentees in England; as I find by a computation made with the assistance of several skilful gentlemen.

The other articles, by which we are altogether losers, and England a gainer, we found to amount to almost as much more.

I will only set down as many heads of them as I can remember, and leave them to the consideration of those who understand accounts better than I pretend to do.

The occasional absentees, for business, health, or diversion.

Three-fourths of the revenue of the chief governor, during his absence; which is usually four-fifths of his government.

The whole revenue of the post-office.

The numerous pensions paid to persons in England.

The pay of the chief officers of the army absent in England, which is a great sum.

Four commissioners of the revenue, always absent.

Civil employments, very numerous, and of great income.

The vast charge of appeals to the House of Lords, and to the Court of Delegates.

Students at the Inns of Court, and the two Universities.

Eighty thousand pounds sent yearly to England for coals; whereof the prime cost is nothing, and therefore the profit wholly theirs.

One hundred thousand pounds paid several years past, for corn sent over hither from England; the effect of our own great wisdom in discouraging agriculture.

The kind liberty granted us of wearing Indian stuffs, and calicoes, to gratify the vanity and folly of our women; which, beside the profit to England, is an unconceivable loss to us, forcing the weavers to beg in our streets, or transport themselves to foreign countries.

The prodigious loss to us, and gain to England, by selling them all our wool at their own rates; whereof the manufacture exceeds above ten times the prime cost; a proceeding without example in the Christian or heathen world.

Our own wool returned upon us in English manufactures, to our infinite shame and damage, and the great advantage of England.

The full profit of all our mines accruing to England; an effect of great negligence and stupidity.

An affectation among us of liking all kinds of goods made in England.

The Drapier's Letters.
JONATHAN SWIFT.

WOOD'S HA'PENCE

1724

This impostor and his crew do likewise give out, that, by refusing to receive his dross for sterling, we 'dispute the King's prerogative, are grown ripe for rebellion, and ready to shake off the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of England'. To countenance which reports he hath published a paragraph in another newspaper, to let us know, that 'the Lord Lieutenant is ordered to come over immediately to settle his halfpence'.

I entreat you, my dear countrymen, not to be under the least concern upon these and the like rumours, which are no more than the last howls of a dog dissected alive, as I hope he has sufficiently been. These calumnies are the only reserve that is left him. For surely our continued and (almost) unexampled loyalty will never be called in question, for not suffering ourselves to be robbed of all that we have by one obscure ironmonger.

As to disputing the King's prerogative, give me leave to explain, to those who are ignorant, what the meaning of that word *prerogative* is.

The Kings of these realms enjoy several powers, wherein the laws have not interposed. So, they can make war and peace without the consent of Parliament—and this is a very great prerogative. But if the Parliament doth not approve of the war, the King must bear the charge of it out of his own purse—and this is as great a check on the crown. So, the King

has a prerogative to coin money without consent of Parliament; but he cannot compel the subject to take that money, except it be sterling gold or silver, because herein he is limited by law. Some princes have, indeed, extended their prerogative farther than the law allowed them; wherein, however, the lawyers of succeeding ages, as fond as they are of precedents, have never dared to justify them. But, to say the truth, it is only of late times that prerogative has been fixed and ascertained; for, whoever reads the history of England will find, that some former Kings, and those none of the worst, have upon several occasions ventured to control the laws, with very little ceremony or scruple, even later than the days of Queen Elizabeth. In her reign, that pernicious counsel of sending base money hither, very narrowly failed of losing the kingdom—being complained of by the lord-deputy, the council, and the whole body of the English here; so that, soon after her death it was recalled by her successor, and lawful money paid in exchange.

Now, here you may see, that the vile accusation of Wood and his accomplices, charging us with disputing the King's prerogative by refusing his brass, can have no place—because compelling the subject to take any coin which is not sterling is no part of the King's prerogative; and, I am very confident if it were so, we should be the last of his people to dispute it; as well from that inviolable loyalty we have always paid to His Majesty, as from the treatment we might, in such a case, justly expect from some, who seem to think we have neither common sense, nor common senses. But, God be thanked, the best of them are only our fellow subjects, and not our masters. One great merit I am sure we have, which those of English birth can have no pretence to—that our ancestors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of England; for which we have been rewarded with a worse climate,—the privilege of being governed by laws to which we do not consent,—a ruined trade,—a House

of Peers without jurisdiction,—almost an incapacity for all employments,—and the dread of Wood's halfpence.

But we are so far from disputing the King's prerogative in coining, that we own he has power to give a patent to any man for setting his royal image and superscription upon whatever materials he pleases, and liberty to the patentee to offer them in any country from England to Japan; only attended with one small limitation—that nobody alive is obliged to take them.

The Drapier's Letters.

THE PRESSGANG

September 1739

Sat. 21.—I began expounding, a second time, our Lord's sermon on the mount. In the morning, *Sunday*, 22, as I was explaining 'Blessed are the poor in spirit' to about three thousand people, we had a fair opportunity of showing all men what manner of spirit we were of; for in the middle of the sermon the pressgang came, and seized on one of the hearers (ye learned in the law, what becomes of Magna Carta, and of English liberty and property? Are not these mere sounds, while, on any pretence, there is such a thing as a pressgang suffered in the land?), all the rest standing still and none opening his mouth or lifting up his hand to resist them.

August 1759

In the evening I began near Stockton market-place as usual. I had hardly finished the hymn, when I observed the people in great confusion, which was occasioned by a lieutenant of a man-of-war, who had chosen that time to bring his pressgang, and ordered them to take Joseph Jones and William Alwood.

Joseph Jones telling him 'Sir, I belong to Mr. Wesley'. After a few words, he let him go; as he did likewise William Alwood, after a few hours, understanding he was a licensed preacher. He likewise seized upon a young man of the town; but the women rescued him by main strength. They also broke the lieutenant's head, and so stoned both him and his men, that they ran away with all speed.

Journal of John Wesley.

THE METHODISTS

1743

Wed. 23.—I met a gentleman in the streets cursing and swearing in so dreadful a manner, that I could not but stop him. He soon grew calmer; told me he must treat me with a glass of wine; and that he would come and hear me, only he was afraid I should say something against fighting of cocks.

April 1. (*Being Good Friday.*)—I had a great desire to visit a little village called Plessey, about ten measured miles north of Newcastle. It is inhabited by colliers only, and such as had been always in the first rank for savage ignorance and wickedness of every kind. Their grand assembly used to be on the Lord's day; on which men, women, and children met together to dance, fight, curse and swear, and play at chuck ball, span-farthing, or whatever came next to hand. I felt great compassion for these poor creatures, from the time I heard of them first; and the more, because all men seemed to despair of them.

Between seven and eight I set out with John Heally, my guide. The north wind, being unusually high, drove the sleet in our face, which froze as it fell, and cased us over presently. When we came to Plessey,

we could very hardly stand. As soon as we were a little recovered I went into the square, and declared Him who 'was wounded for our transgressions' and 'bruised for our iniquities'. The poor sinners were quickly gathered together and gave earnest heed to the things which were spoken. And so they did in the afternoon again, in spite of the wind and snow, when I besought them to receive Him for their King; to 'repent and believe the Gospel'.

Wed. 9.—I rode over to a neighbouring town, to wait upon a justice of peace, a man of candour and understanding; before whom (I was informed) their angry neighbours had carried a whole wagon-load of these new heretics. But when he asked what they had done, there was a deep silence; for that was a point their conductors had forgot. At length one said, 'Why, they pretended to be better than other people; and besides, they prayed from morning till night.' Mr. S. asked, 'But have they done nothing besides?' 'Yes, sir,' said an old man: 'an't please your worship, they have *convarted* my wife. Till she went among them, she had such a tongue! And now she is as quiet as a lamb.' 'Carry them back, carry them back,' replied the justice, 'and let them convert all the scolds in the town.'

The Magistrates' Order.

'*Staffordshire.*

'To all High-Constables, Petty-Constables, and other of his Majesty's Peace Officers, within the said County, and particularly to the Constable of Tipton' (near Walsall);

'Whereas, we, his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County of Stafford, have received information that several disorderly persons, styling themselves Methodist Preachers, go about raising routs and riots, to the great damage of his Majesty's liege

people, and against the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King:

'These are, in his Majesty's name, to command you and every one of you, within your respective districts, to make diligent search after the said Methodist Preachers, and to bring him or them before some of us his said Majesty's Justices of the Peace, to be examined concerning their unlawful doings.

'Given under our hands and seals, this — day of October, 1743.

'J. LANE.
'W. PERSEHOUSE.'

N.B. The very Justices to whose houses I was carried, and who severally refused to see me!

Journal of John Wesley.

THE DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES

1751

Here lies Fred,
Who was alive and is dead,
Had it been his father
I had much rather.
Had it been his brother
Still better than another;
Had it been his sister
No one would have missed her;
Had it been the whole generation
Still better for the nation.
But since it was only Fred,
Who was alive and is dead,
There's no more to be said.

ANONYMOUS.

This epitaph represents fairly enough the attitude of the English people to the Royal House of Hanover in the eighteenth century.

PRISONS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I

To the Editor of the London Chronicle.

Friday, Jan. 2, 1761.

SIR,

Of all the seats of woe this side hell, few, I suppose, exceed or even equal Newgate. If any region of horror could exceed it a few years ago, Newgate in Bristol did; so great was the filth, the stench, the misery, and wickedness, which shocked all who had a spark of humanity left.

How was I surprised then, when I was there a few weeks ago!

Every part of it, above stairs and below, even the pit, wherein the felons are confined at night, is as clean and sweet as a gentleman's house; it being now a rule, that every prisoner wash and clean his apartment thoroughly twice a week. Here is no fighting or brawling. If any thinks himself ill-used, the cause is immediately referred to the keeper, who hears the contending parties face to face, and decides the affair at once. The usual grounds of quarrelling are removed. For it is very rarely that any one cheats or wrongs another, as being sure, if anything of this kind is discovered, to be committed to a closer confinement.

Here is no drunkenness suffered, however advantageous it might be to the keeper, as well as the tapster. All possible care is taken to prevent idleness: those who are willing to work at their callings are provided with tools and materials, partly by the keeper, who gives them credit at a very moderate profit; partly by the alms occasionally given, which are divided with the utmost prudence and impartiality. Accordingly, at this time, among others, a shoemaker,

a tailor, a brazier, and a coachmaker are working at their several trades.

Only on the Lord's day they neither work nor play, but dress themselves as clean as they can, to attend the public service in the chapel, at which every person under the roof is present. None is excused, unless sick; in which case he is provided, *gratis*, both with advice and medicines. And in order to assist them in things of the greatest concern (besides a sermon every Sunday and Thursday), they have a large Bible chained on one side of the chapel, which any of the prisoners may read. By the blessing of God on these regulations the prison now has a new face: nothing offends either the eye or ear; and the whole has the appearance of a quiet, serious family. And does not the keeper of Newgate deserve to be remembered full as well as the Man of Ross? May the Lord remember him in that day! Meantime, will no one follow his example? I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,
JOHN WESLEY.

Journal of John Wesley.

II

The distress of prisoners, of which there are few who have not some imperfect idea, came more immediately under my notice when I was sheriff of the county of Bedford; and the circumstance which excited me to activity in their behalf was, the seeing some—who by the verdict of juries were declared not guilty; some—on whom the grand jury did not find such an appearance of guilt as subjected them to trial; and some—whose persecutors did not appear against them;—after having been confined for months, dragged back to jail, and locked up again till they should pay sundry fees to the jailer, the clerk of assize, &c.

In order to redress this hardship, I applied to the justices of the county for a salary to the jailer in lieu

of his fees. The bench were properly affected with the grievance, and willing to grant the relief desired: but they wanted a precedent for charging the county with the expense. I therefore rode into several neighbouring counties in search of one; but I soon learned that the same injustice was practised in them; and looking into the prisons, I beheld scenes of calamity, which I grew daily more and more anxious to alleviate. In order therefore to gain a more perfect knowledge of the particulars and extent of it, by various and accurate observation, I visited most of the county jails in England.

Seeing in two or three of them some poor creatures whose aspect was singularly deplorable, and asking the cause of it, the answer was, 'They were lately brought from the bridewells.' This started a fresh subject of inquiry. I resolved to inspect the bridewells: and for that purpose travelled again into the counties where I had been: and, indeed, into all the rest; examining houses of correction, city and town jails. I beheld in many of them, as well as in the county jails, a complication of distress; but my attention was principally fixed by the jail fever and the small-pox, which I saw prevailing to the destruction of multitudes, not only of felons in their dungeons, but of debtors also.

The jail fever is no new subject of complaint. Stow, in his *Survey*, mentions, that 'in the year 1414, the jailers of Newgate and Ludgate died, and prisoners in Newgate to the number of sixty-four'. And speaking of the King's Bench prison, says, that in the six years preceding the year 1579, one hundred prisoners died there: and twelve between Michaelmas and March of the last-mentioned year, 'through a certain contagion called the sickness of the house'; and I shall presently have occasion, among the fatal effects of this distemper propagated from prisons, and

85 bridewells] houses of correction, prisons.

infecting many abroad, to mention another ancient instance of that sort also. These effects are now so notorious, that what terrifies most of us from looking into prisons, is the jail distemper so frequent in them.

State of the Prisons.
JOHN HOWARD (1726-90).

50. *the Man of Ross.* John Kyrle (1634–1724).

'Him portioned maids, apprenticed orphans blest,
The young who labour, and the old that rest.
Is any sick? the Man of Ross relieves,
Prescribes, attends, the medicine makes and gives, &c.'
Alexander Pope: *Moral Essays*, Ep. III, 249–90.

THE WORKING CLERGY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

August 10, 1786, the Rev. William Bickerstaffe, minister of Aylesston, in Leicestershire, addressed a letter from Leicester to the lord-chancellor Thurlow, in which he says: 'At fifty-eight years of age, permit a poor curate, unsupported by private property, to detain your attention a few moments. From 1750 I have been usher at the Free Grammar School here, with an appointment of £19 16*s.* a year; seven years curate of St. Mary's, my native parish, in this borough; then six years curate at St. Martin's with All Saints', lately bestowed by your lordship on Mr. Gregory of this place; and now an opportunity occurs to your lordship, to give me an occasion to pray for my benefactor, and those that are dear to him, during my life: 'tis this, a dispensation is expected every day by the head-master of the school where I serve, the Rev. Mr. Pigot, vicar of Great Wigston, in this county, to connect a fresh acquisition in Lincolnshire with it; and he urges your lordship's petitioner to try for the living of St. Nicholas here, which he must relinquish. It is simply £35 a year; but, as this corporation grants an annual aid to each living in Leicester of £10

a year, St. Nicholas, joined to my school, might render me comfortable for life, and prevent the uncertainty of a curacy, and the hard necessity at my time of life of being harassed, in all weathers, by a distant cure.'

The Year Book.
WILLIAM HONE.

END OF LITERARY PATRONAGE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

February 7, 1755.

MY LORD,—I have been lately informed, by the proprietor of *The World*, that two papers, in which my Dictionary is recommended to the public, were written by your lordship. To be so distinguished is an honour, which, being very little accustomed to favours from the great, I know not well how to receive, or in what terms to acknowledge.

When, upon some slight encouragement, I first visited your Lordship, I was overpowered, like the rest of mankind, by the enchantment of your address; and could not forbear to wish that I might boast myself *Le vainqueur du vainqueur de la terre*; that I might obtain that regard for which I saw the world contending; but I found my attendance so little encouraged, that neither pride nor modesty would suffer me to continue it. When I had once addressed your Lordship in public, I had exhausted all the arts of pleasing which a retired and uncourtly scholar can possess. I had done all that I could; and no man is well pleased to have his all neglected, be it ever so little.

Seven years, my lord, have now passed, since I waited in your outward rooms, or was repulsed from your door; during which time I have been pushing on my work through difficulties of which it is useless to

complain, and have brought it at last to the verge of publication without one act of assistance, one word of encouragement, or one smile of favour. Such treatment I did not expect, for I never had a Patron before.

The shepherd in Virgil grew at last acquainted with Love, and found him a native of the rocks.

Is not a Patron, my Lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached the ground, encumbers him with help? The notice which you have been pleased to take of my labours, had it been early, had been kind; but it has been delayed till I am indifferent, and cannot enjoy it; till I am solitary, and cannot impart it; till I am known, and do not want it. I hope it is no very cynical asperity not to confess obligations where no benefit has been received, or to be unwilling that the Public should consider me as owing that to a Patron, which Providence has enabled me to do for myself.

Having carried on my work thus far with so little obligation to any favourer of learning, I shall not be disappointed though I should conclude it, if less be possible, with less; for I have been long wakened from that dream of hope, in which I once boasted myself with so much exultation, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble, most obedient servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Life of Samuel Johnson (1709–84).
JAMES BOSWELL (1740–95).

Carlyle calls this letter 'the far-famed blast of doom proclaiming into the ear of Lord Chesterfield, and through him, of the listening world, that the age of patronage should be no more'.

SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Edinburgh Streets.

Saturday, 14th August, 1773. Mr. Johnson and I walked arm-in-arm up the High Street, to my house in James's Court. It was a dusky night: I could not prevent his being assailed by the evening effluvia of Edinburgh. I heard a late baronet, of some distinction in the political world in the beginning of the present reign, observe, that 'walking the streets of Edinburgh at night was pretty perilous, and a good deal odoriferous'. The peril is much abated, by the care which the magistrates have taken to enforce the city laws against throwing foul water from the windows; but from the structure of the houses in the Old Town, which consist of many stories, in each of which a different family lives, and there being no covered sewers, the odour still continues. A zealous Scotsman would have wished Mr. Johnson to be without one of his five senses upon this occasion. As we marched slowly along, he grumbled in my ear, 'I smell you in the dark!' But he acknowledged that the breadth of the street, and the loftiness of the buildings on each side, made a noble appearance.

The Landscape.

Saturday, 21st August, 1773. As we travelled onwards from Montrose we had the Grampian hills in our view, and some good land around us, but void of trees and hedges. Dr. Johnson had said ludicrously, in his *Journey*, that the hedges were of stone; for, instead of the verdant thorn to refresh the eye, we found the bare wall or dyke intersecting the Prospect. He observed, that it was wonderful to see a country so divested, so denuded of trees.

Peasants in the West of Scotland.

Monday, August 30th, 1773. When we had advanced a good way by the side of Lochness, I perceived a little hut, with an old-looking woman at the door of it. I thought here might be a scene that would amuse Dr. Johnson, so I mentioned it to him. 'Let's go in,' said he. We dismounted, and we and our guides entered the hut. It was a wretched little hovel of earth only, I think, and for a window had only a small hole, which was stopped with a piece of turf that was taken out occasionally to let in light. In the middle of the room or space which we entered was a fire of peat, the smoke going out at a hole in the roof; she had a pot upon it, with goat's flesh boiling. There was at one end under the same roof but divided by a kind of partition made of wattles, a pen or fold, in which we saw a good many kids. . . .

I lighted a piece of paper, and went into the place where the bed was. There was a little partition of wicker, rather more neatly done than that for the fold, and close by the wall was a kind of bedstead of wood with heath upon it by way of bed, at the foot of which I saw some sort of blankets or covering rolled up in a heap. The woman's name was Fraser; so was her husband's: he was a man of eighty. Mr. Fraser, of Balnain, allows him to live in this hut, and keep sixty goats, for taking care of his woods, where he then was. They had five children, the eldest only thirteen: two were gone to Inverness to buy meal; the rest were looking after the goats. This contented family had four stacks of barley, twenty-four sheaves in each: they had a few fowls. We were informed that they lived all the spring without meal, upon milk and curds and whey alone. What they get for their goats, kids, and fowls, maintains them during the rest of the year.

45 wattles] wicker hurdles.

Scarcity of Money.

Friday, 24th September, 1773. Our money being nearly exhausted, we sent a bill for thirty pounds, drawn on Sir William Forbes and Co., to Lochbracadale, but our messenger found it very difficult to procure cash for it; at length, however, he got us value from the master of a vessel which was to carry away some emigrants. There is a great scarcity of specie in Skye. Mr. M'Queen said he had the utmost difficulty to pay his servants' wages, or to pay for any little thing which he has to buy. The rents are paid in bills, which the drovers give. The people consume a vast deal of snuff and tobacco, for which they must pay ready money; and pedlars, who come about selling goods, as there is not a shop in the island, carry away the cash. If there were encouragement given to fisheries and manufactures, there might be a circulation of money introduced. I got one-and-twenty shillings in silver at Portree, which was thought a wonderful store.

Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides.
JAMES BOSWELL.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, *July 4th*, 1775.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

. . . The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world. He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. He has for-

bidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws, for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance. He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

. . . . . .

He has combined with others to subject us to jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states: For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world: For imposing taxes on us without our consent: For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury: For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences: For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to

render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies: For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments: For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be a ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties

of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

[Here follow the signatures of the representatives of the Thirteen Colonies.]

THE AMERICAN WAR

Conciliation.

1775

Do not dream that your letters of office, and your instructions, and your suspending clauses, are the things that hold together the great contexture of the mysterious whole. These things do not make your government. Dead instruments, passive tools as they are, it is the spirit of the English communion that

gives all their life and efficacy to them. It is the spirit of the English Constitution which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the empire, even down to the minutest member.

Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us here in England? Do you imagine then, that it is the Land Tax Act which raises your revenue? that it is the annual vote in the Committee of Supply which gives you your army? or that it is the Mutiny Bill which inspires it with bravery and discipline? No! surely no! It is the love of the people; it is their attachment to their government, from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution which gives you your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience, without which your army would be a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timber.

All this, I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians who have no place among us; a sort of people who think that nothing exists but what is gross and material; and who therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles, which, in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth everything, and all in all. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together. If we are conscious of our station, and glow with zeal to fill our places as becomes our situation and ourselves, we ought to auspicate all our public proceedings on America with the old warning of the church, *Sursum corda*! We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling, our ancestors have

turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire; and have made the most extensive, and the only honourable conquests, not by destroying, but by promoting the wealth, the number, the happiness, of the human race. Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is; English privileges alone will make it all it can be.

In full confidence of this unalterable truth, I now (*quod felix faustumque sit*) lay the first stone of the Temple of peace; and I move you,

'That the Colonies and Plantations of Great Britain in North America, consisting of Fourteen separate governments, and containing Two Millions and upwards of free inhabitants, have not had the liberty and privilege of electing and sending any Knights and Burgesses, or others, to represent them in the High Court of Parliament.'

Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies.
EDMUND BURKE (1729–97).

Public Opinion.

1781

On Sunday, April 1, I dined with him at Mr. Thrale's, with Sir Philip Jennings Clerk. . . . Sir Philip had the appearance of a gentleman of ancient family, well advanced in life. He wore his own white hair in a bag of goodly size, a black velvet coat, with an embroidered waistcoat, and very rich laced ruffles; which Mrs. Thrale said were old fashioned but which, for that reason, I thought the more respectable, more like a Tory; yet Sir Philip was then in Opposition in Parliament. 'Ah, Sir,' said Johnson, 'ancient ruffles and modern principles do not agree.' Sir Philip defended the Opposition to the American war ably

and with temper, and I joined him. He said, the majority of the nation was against the ministry. JOHNSON: 'I, Sir, am against the ministry; but it is for having too little of that of which Opposition thinks they have too much. Were I minister, if any man wagged his finger against me, he should be turned out; for that which it is in the power of Government to give at pleasure to one or to another, should be given to the supporters of Government. If you will not oppose at the expense of losing your place, your opposition will not be honest, you will feel no serious grievance; and the present opposition is only a contest to get what others have. Sir Robert Walpole acted as I would do. As to the American war, the *sense* of the nation is *with* the ministry. The majority of those who can *understand* is with it; the majority of those who can only *hear*, is against it; and as those who can only hear are more numerous than those who can understand, and Opposition is always loudest, a majority of the rabble will be for Opposition.'

The boisterous vivacity entertained us; but the truth in my opinion was, that those who could understand the best were against the American war, as almost every man now is, when the question has been coolly considered.

Life of Samuel Johnson.
JAMES BOSWELL.

PUNISHMENT FOR STEALING

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(Compare the opinion of Sir Thomas More, 'Causes of Crime,' p. 91, above.)

Tuesday, September 21, 1779. This day the sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when the ten following

prisoners received sentence of death, viz. Sarah Budge, for stealing goods in the house of John Whitfield; James Lake, for robbing William Wheatley, on the highway, near the Nine Elms, of a gold watch, half a guinea, &c.; Thomas King, a Soldier, for stealing a quantity of plate in the dwelling-house of Robert Anderson, a publican at Shadwell, upon whom he was quartered; Jeremiah Hetherley, for stealing five hats in the shop of Richard Burton and William Busby; Margaret Creamer, for robbing John Scarlet of two guineas, three shillings, and a pocket-book, on Saltpetre Bank; William Chamberlayne, for stealing out of a letter in the General Post Office, in Lombard Street, directed to William Cunningham, Esq., Christ Church, Oxford, a certain promissory note of Thomas Hammersley, for the partners of the Exchange Banking Company and Self, for the payment of £10 to William Cunningham or order, on demand; on his arraignment he pleaded guilty; John Pears, for stealing a mare, verdict found special; Mary Jones, alias Wood, for stealing divers linen-drapery goods, the property of William Jones, in his shop in Oxford Street; Isabella, the wife of Thomas Condon, and John Field, for coining and counterfeiting shillings; nine were ordered to be kept to hard labour in raising sand, &c. on the Thames; twelve to be imprisoned in Newgate; and nine to be kept to hard labour in the house of correction.

Philip Kiernan was convicted of feloniously killing and slaying Thomas Greaves, a porter in Gray's Inn, in a quarrel; fined one shilling, and discharged.

Westminster Magazine.
(September, 1779.)

CATHOLIC DISABILITIES IN IRELAND

1792

Education.

'The authorized establishments for learning in this realm are, by their constitutions, appropriated to those only who conform to the established church (i. e. Protestant).

No person of the popish religion shall publicly teach school or instruct youth in learning, or in private houses teach or instruct youth in learning, within this realm (except only the children or others under the guardianship of the master or mistress of such private house), under the penalty of £20 and three months' imprisonment.'

(From an Act of William III's reign.)

'If any person after the 1st of September 1709 shall discover any popish school-master or any papist teaching or instructing youth in private houses, as tutor, or as usher, under-master or assistant to any protestant school-master, so as the said popish school-master, tutor or usher, under-master or assistant to any protestant school-master be apprehended and legally convicted, every person making such discovery shall receive as a reward for the same £10, to be levied on the popish inhabitants of the county where such popish school-master, tutor, usher, under-master or assistant taught or instructed youth, or did most commonly reside, and shall be convicted thereof.'

(From an Act of Queen Anne's reign.)

'In case any of his majesty's subjects of Ireland shall go or send any person to any public or private popish school, in parts beyond the seas, in order to be

educated in the popish religion, and be there trained in the popish religion, or shall send money or other thing towards the maintenance of such person gone or sent and trained as aforesaid, or as a charity for relief of a religious house, every person so going, sending, or sent, shall, on conviction, be disabled to sue in law or in equity, or to be guardian, executor, or administrator, or take a legacy or deed of gift, or bear any office, and shall forfeit goods and chattels for ever, and lands for life.'

(From an Act of William III's reign.)

Self-defence.

'All papists shall discover and deliver up to a justice of peace or head officer of their place of residence, all their arms, armour, and ammunition. Any two justices of the peace, or any chief officer of a town corporate, by themselves or by their warrant are empowered, from time to time, to search for and seize all such arms, armour, and ammunition as shall be concealed in any house, lodging or other places where they shall suspect any such arms, armour or ammunition shall be concealed, and the same so seized preserve for the king's use, and return a true account thereof to the Lord Lieutenant.'

(From an Act of William III's reign.)

Exercise of Religion.

'All persons inhabiting within this realm, shall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, endeavour themselves to resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed, or, upon reasonable let thereof, to some usual place where common prayer and such service of God as in the Book of Common Prayer mentioned shall be used in such time of let, upon every Sunday and other days ordained and used to be kept as holy days, and then and there to abide orderly and soberly during the

time of common prayer preachings or other service of God there to be used and ministered, upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church, and also upon pain that every person offending shall forfeit for every such offence 12*d.* to be levied off the goods, lands and tenements of such offender, by way of distress, by the churchwardens of the parish where such offence shall be done, to the use of the poor of said parish.'

(From Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity.)

Holding of Office.

'From and after 24th of June 1716, no person of the popish religion shall be capable of being nominated, appointed, presented or sworn, or any ways serve as high constable in any county, barony, or half-barony, or as petty constable in any manor, ward, parish constablewick, or place within this kingdom; but are to be proportionably taxed for the support of such officers.'

(From an Act of George II's reign.)

The Law.

'Every person who, after 1st of August 1728, shall apply to be called to the bar, or to be admitted a clerk, or attorney, or shall take upon him to practise as a solicitor, or to act as an officer, or deputy officer in any court of law or equity, shall, before such application, or taking on them to practise or act as aforesaid, take and subscribe the several oaths, and repeat and subscribe the declaration mentioned in the 2d. Anne ch. 6.'

(From an Act of George III's reign.)

The Franchise.

'From and after the 1st of May 1746, any of the candidates at any election of members to serve in Parliament, or any other person having a right to vote at such election, may require from every freeholder

before he is admitted to poll at such election an oath in which he must swear, that he is not a papist, nor married to a papist, and that he does not educate, or suffer to be educated any of his children under the age of fourteen years in the popish religion. In the case of a convert the words, "that he is not a papist," shall be omitted, and instead thereof shall be inserted, "that he was educated in the popish religion, and has conformed to the Church of Ireland as by law established, and has not since his conformity married a popish wife" . . . which oath is conclusive evidence to the sheriff.'

(From an Act of George II's reign.)

Trade.

'No papist or papists who are or shall be permitted to follow any trade, craft, or mystery in this kingdom, shall hereafter take or keep more than two apprentices, at a time, in any such trade, craft, or mystery (except the hempen and flaxen manufacture), and that for no less a term than seven years, under the penalty of £100 to the prosecutor.'

(From an Act of Queen Anne's reign.)

'From henceforth it shall and may be lawful for every manufacturer, as well journeyman as master, to take as many apprentices, male or female, as he may think fit, in any trade, within this kingdom, whether such master or apprentice be protestant or papist, any statute, usage, custom, charter, by-law, order or regulation to the contrary notwithstanding.'

(From an Act of George III's reign.)

But notwithstanding the above act, it seems (to this Committee) that persons apprenticed, under the direction of authorized establishments for education, are under the terms of these establishments, still invariably to be apprenticed to protestants.

Yet it is expressly provided that the £4,000 granted by this act, to be expended in apprentice fees to such tradesmen or manufacturers as take children from charter-schools, or the Foundling Hospital in Dublin, shall be to protestant tradesmen, or manufacturers only.

(Pamphlet published in 1792 by the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin.)

THE WEARIN' O' THE GREEN

1798

Oh Paddy dear! an' did ye hear the news that's goin' round?
The shamrock is by law forbid to grow on Irish ground.
No more St. Patrick's Day we'll keep, his colour can't be seen,
For there's a cruel law agin the wearin' o' the green!
I met wid Napper Tandy, and he took me by the hand,
And he said, 'How's poor Ould Ireland, and how does she stand?'
She's the most disthressful country that iver yet was seen,
For they're hangin' men and women there for wearin' o' the green.

An' if the colour we must wear is England's cruel red,
Let it remind us of the blood that Ireland has shed;
Then pull the shamrock from your hat, and throw it on the sod—
And never fear, 'twill take root there, tho' under foot 'tis trod.

When law can stop the blades of grass from growin' as they grow,
And when the leaves in summer time their colour dare not show,
Then I will change the colour, too, I wear in my caubeen,
But till that day, plaze God, I'll stick to wearin' o' the green.

ANONYMOUS.

Title. *The Wearin' o' the Green.* This poem dates from 1798 and is almost the national anthem of the Irish. The wearing of the shamrock by soldiers on St. Patrick's Day was not permitted until 1899, after Queen Victoria had visited Ireland.

THE COUNTY SQUIRE

1800

Another character, now worn out and gone, was the little independent gentleman, of £300 per annum, who commonly appeared in a plain drab or plush coat, large silver buttons, a jockey cap, and rarely without boots. His travels never exceeded the distance of the county town, and that only at assize and session time, or to attend an election. Once a week he commonly dined at the next market town with the attorneys and justices. This man went to church regularly, read the weekly journal, settled the parochial disputes between the parish officers at the vestry, and afterwards adjourned to the neighbouring ale-house, where he usually got drunk for the good of his country. He never played at cards but at Christmas, when a family pack was produced from the mantelpiece. He was commonly followed by a couple of greyhounds and a pointer, and announced his arrival at a neighbour's house by smacking his whip, or giving the view-halloo. His drink was generally ale, except at Christmas, the fifth of November, or some other gala days, when he

15 caubeen] hat.

would make a bowl of strong brandy punch, garnished with toast and nutmeg. A journey to London was, by one of these men, reckoned as great an undertaking as is at present a voyage to the East Indies, and undertaken with scarcely less precaution and preparation.

The mansion of one of these squires was of plaster striped with timber, not unaptly called calamanco work, or of red brick, large casemented bow windows, a porch with seats in it, and over it a study; the eaves of the house well inhabited by swallows, and the court set round with hollyhocks. Near the gate a horse-block for the convenience of mounting.

The hall was furnished with flitches of bacon, and the mantelpiece with guns and fishing-rods of various dimensions, accompanied by the broadsword, partisan, and dagger, borne by his ancestors in the civil wars. The vacant spaces were occupied by stags' horns. Against the wall were posted King Charles's Golden Rules, Vincent Wing's Almanac, and a portrait of the Duke of Marlborough; in his window lay Baker's Chronicle, Foxe's Book of Martyrs, Glanvil on Apparitions, Quincey's Dispensatory, the Complete Justice, and a Book of Farriery.

In the corner, by the fire-side, stood a large wooden two-armed chair with a cushion; and within the chimney corner were a couple of seats. Here, at Christmas, he entertained his tenants assembled round a glowing fire made of the roots of trees, and other great logs, and told and heard the traditionary tales of the village respecting ghosts and witches, till fear made them afraid to move. In the meantime the jorum of ale was in continual circulation.

The best parlour, which was never opened but on particular occasions, was furnished with Turk-worked chain, and hung round with portraits of his ancestors; the men in the character of shepherds, with their crooks, dressed in full suits and huge full-bottomed perukes; others in complete armour or buff coats,

playing on the bass viol or lute. The females likewise as shepherdesses, with the lamb and crook, all habited in high heads and flowing robes.

The Year Book.
WILLIAM HONE.

28. *calamanco.* Glossy Flemish woollen stuff.
53. *jorum.* Large drinking-bowl.
55. *Turk-worked chain.* Satin tapestry embroidered with tinsel, in chain-work.

PETERLOO

1819

The adjournment of the preceding meeting, the considerable interval of preparation which had been allowed; a vague feeling, perhaps, that such assemblages would not much longer be permitted,—all conspired to render the concourse great beyond all former example. A little before noon on the 16th of August, the first body of reformers began to arrive on the scene of action, which was a piece of ground called St. Peter's Field, adjoining a church of that name in the town of Manchester. These persons bore two banners, surmounted with caps of liberty, and bearing the inscription: 'No Corn Laws,' 'Annual Parliaments,' 'Universal Suffrage,' 'Vote by Ballot.' Some of these flags, after being paraded round the field, were planted in the cart on which the speakers stood; but others remained in different parts of the crowd. Numerous large bodies of reformers continued to arrive from the towns in the neighbourhood of Manchester till about one o'clock, all preceded by flags, and many of them in regular marching order, five deep. Two clubs of female reformers advanced, one of them numbering more than 150 members, and bearing a white silk banner. One body of reformers timed their steps to the sound of a bugle with much of a disciplined air: another had assumed to itself the motto of the

illustrious Wallace, 'God armeth the Patriot.' A band of special constables assumed a position on the field without resistance. The congregated multitude now amounted to a number roundly computed at 80,000, and the arrival of the hero of the day was impatiently expected. At length Mr. Hunt made his appearance, and after a rapturous greeting, was invited to preside; he signified his assent, and mounting a scaffolding began to harangue his admirers. He had not proceeded far, when the appearance of the yeomanry cavalry advancing towards the area in a brisk trot, excited a panic in the outskirts of the meeting. They entered the enclosure, and after pausing a moment to recover their disordered ranks, and breathe their horses, they drew their swords, and brandished them fiercely in the air. The multitude, by the direction of their leaders, gave three cheers, to show that they were undaunted by this intrusion, and the orator had just resumed his speech to assure the people that this was only a trick to disturb the meeting, and to exhort them to stand firm, when the cavalry dashed into the crowd, making for the cart on which the speakers were placed. The multitude offered no resistance, they fell back on all sides. The commanding officer then approaching Mr. Hunt, and brandishing his sword, told him that he was his prisoner. Mr. Hunt, after enjoining the people to tranquillity, said that he would readily surrender to any civil officer on showing his warrant, and Mr. Nadin, the principal police officer, received him in charge. Another person, named Johnson, was likewise apprehended, and a few of the mob; some others against whom there were warrants escaped in the crowd. A cry now arose among the military of 'Have at their flags', and they dashed down not only those in the cart, but the others dispersed in the field; cutting to right and left to get at them. The people began running in all directions; and from this moment the yeomanry lost all command of temper: numbers were trampled under the feet of men and

horses; many, both men and women, were cut down by sabres; several, and a peace officer in the number, slain on the spot. The whole number of persons injured amounted to between three and four hundred. The populace threw a few stones and brick-bats in their retreat; but in less than ten minutes the ground was entirely cleared of its former occupants, and filled by various bodies of military, both horse and foot. Mr. Hunt was led to prison, not without incurring considerable danger, and some injury on his way from the swords of yeomanry and the bludgeons of police officers; the broken staves of two of his banners were carried in mock procession before him. The magistrates directed him to be locked up in a solitary cell, and the other prisoners were confined with the same precaution.

The town was brought into a tolerably quiet state before night, military patrols being stationed at the end of almost every street.

Annual Register (1819).

31. *Hunt.* Henry Hunt (1773-1835), English radical reformer, known as 'Orator Hunt'; M.P. for Preston, 1830-33.

ENGLAND IN 1819

(This sonnet is no exaggeration of the state of the country in 1819. Bad trade and heavy taxation produced riots which were often put down by the military with bloodshed. Lord Castlereagh had suppressed the right of free speech. George III had been insane for years. The Regent was a drunkard and a gambler, and Parliament was still unreformed and unrepresentative of the nation.)

An old, mad, blind, despised, and dying king,—
Princes, the dregs of their dull race, who flow
Through public scorn,—mud from a muddy spring,—
Rulers who neither see, nor feel, nor know,
But leech-like to their fainting country cling,
Till they drop, blind in blood, without a blow,—

A people starved and stabbed in the untilled field,—
An army, which liberticide and prey
Makes as a two-edged sword to all who wield,—
Golden and sanguine laws which tempt and slay;
Religion Christless, Godless—a book sealed;
A Senate,—Time's worst statute unrepealed,—
Are graves, from which a glorious Phantom may
Burst, to illumine our tempestuous day.

P. B. SHELLEY (1792–1822).

INTRODUCTION OF MACHINERY

LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Important dates in the history of the Cotton Manufacture.

1764. JAMES HARGREAVES invented the *spinning jenny* to take the place of the spinning wheel.

In 1764 (or 1767) a poor man of the name of Hargreaves, employed in a cotton manufactory near Blackburn, first made a machine in that county which spun *eleven* threads.

(This was destroyed by the mob in 1768.)

1769. RICHARD ARKWRIGHT invented the *water frame* for spinning a firm thread.

'I have by great study and long application invented a new piece of machinery never before found out, practised or used for the making of weft or yarn from cotton flax and wool: which will be of great utility to a great many manufacturers, as well as to His Majesty's subjects in general, by employing a great number of poor people in working the said machinery, and by making the said weft or yarn superior in quality to any heretofore made.'

1779. SAMUEL CROMPTON invented the *mule* to do the work of both the water frame and spinning jenny.

1784. JAMES WATT introduced an *improved steam-engine* to do the work of a water-wheel.

1785. EDMUND CARTWRIGHT invented the *power-loom* for quick weaving.

Progress of Thirty Years.

In 1800, a good hand-weaver twenty-five to thirty years of age would weave two pieces of shirting per week, each 24 yards long.

In 1823, a steam-loom weaver of fifteen years of age attending two looms would weave seven similar pieces in a week.

In 1826, the same person would weave twelve pieces in a week.

In 1833, a steam-loom weaver fifteen to twenty years of age assisted by a girl of twelve, attending to four looms, would weave *eighteen* similar pieces.

History of the Cotton Manufacture.
SIR EDWARD BAINES (1800–90).

Nelson and Colne in the middle of the eighteenth century were small moorland villages; they are now large manufacturing towns with populations of 25,000 and 40,000 respectively. In 1813 there were 2,300 power-looms in use; by 1833 this number had increased to 100,000.

AGITATION AGAINST MACHINERY

c. 1812

He [Moore] did not sufficiently care when the new inventions threw the old workpeople out of employ: he never asked himself where those to whom he no longer paid weekly wages found daily bread, and in this negligence he only resembled thousands besides, on whom the starving poor of Yorkshire seemed to have a closer claim.

. . . . . .

The 'Orders in Council', provoked by Napoleon's Milan and Berlin decrees, and forbidding neutral powers to trade with France, had, by offending America, cut off the principal market of the Yorkshire woollen trade, and brought it, consequently, to the verge of ruin. Minor foreign markets were glutted, and would receive no more—the Brazils, Portugal, Sicily were all overstocked by nearly two years' consumption. At this crisis, certain inventions in machinery were introduced into the staple manufactures of the North, which, greatly reducing the number of hands necessary to be employed, threw thousands out of work, and left them without legitimate means of sustaining life. A bad harvest supervened. Distress reached its climax. Endurance, overgoaded, stretched the hand of fraternity to sedition. The throes of a sort of moral earthquake were felt heaving under the hills of the northern counties. But, as is usual in such cases, nobody took much notice. When a food-riot broke out in a manufacturing town, when a gig-mill was burnt to the ground, or a manufacturer's house was attacked, the furniture thrown into the streets, and the family forced to flee for their lives, some local measures were or were not taken by the local magistracy: a ringleader was detected, or more frequently suffered to elude detection; newspaper paragraphs were written on the subject, and there the thing stopped. As to the sufferers, whose sole inheritance was labour, and who had lost that inheritance —who could not get work, and consequently could not get wages, and consequently could not get bread—they were left to suffer on, perhaps inevitably left: it would not do to stop the progress of invention, to damage science by discouraging its improvements. . . . These sufferers hated the machines which they believed took their bread from them; they hated the buildings which contained these machines; they hated the manufacturer who owned those buildings.

. . . . . .

(Moore is waiting for the wagons to bring back the new machinery for his mill.)

The night was still, dark, and stagnant: the water yet rushed on full and fast; its flow almost seemed a flood in the utter silence. Moore's ear, however, caught another sound—very distant, but yet dissimilar—broken and rugged—in short, a sound of heavy wheels crunching a stony road. He returned to the counting-house and lit a lantern, with which he walked down the mill-yard, and proceeded to open the gates. The big wagons were coming on; the dray-horses' huge hoofs were heard splashing in the mud and water. Moore hailed them:

'Hey, Joe Scott! Is all right?'

Probably Joe Scott was yet at too great a distance to hear the inquiry; he did not answer it.

'Is all right, I say?' again asked Moore, when the elephant-like leader's nose almost touched his.

Some one jumped out from the foremost wagon into the road; a voice cried aloud, 'Ay, ay, divil, all's raight! We've smashed 'em.'

And there was a run. The wagons stood still: they were now deserted.

'Joe Scott!' No Joe Scott answered. 'Murgatroyd! Pighills! Sykes!' No reply. Mr. Moore lifted his lantern, and looked into the vehicles; there was neither man nor machinery: they were empty and abandoned.

Now Mr. Moore loved his machinery: he had risked the last of his capital on the purchase of these frames and shears which to-night had been expected; speculations most important to his interests depended on the results to be wrought by them: where were they?

The words 'we've smashed 'em!' rung in his ears. . . . He placed the lantern on the ground, and stood with his arms folded, gazing down and reflecting.

An impatient trampling of one of the horses made him presently look up; his eye in the moment caught the gleam of something white attached to a part of the

harness. Examined by the light of the lantern, this proved to be a folded paper—a billet. It bore no address without; within was the superscription:

'To the Divil of Hollow's Miln.'

We will not copy the rest of the orthography, which was very peculiar, but translate it into legible English. It ran thus:

'Your hellish machinery is shivered to smash on Stilbro' Moor, and your men are lying bound hand and foot in a ditch by the roadside. Take this as a warning from men that are starving, and have starving wives and children to go home to when they have done this deed. If you get new machines, or if you otherwise go on as you have done, you shall hear from us again. Beware!'

Shirley.
CHARLOTTE BRONTË (1816–55).

SOME EFFECTS OF THE INTRODUCTION OF MACHINERY

c. 1828

In the year 1770, the land in our township (Mellor, near Manchester) was occupied by between fifty to sixty farmers; rents, to the best of my recollection, did not exceed 10*s.* per statute acre; and out of these fifty or sixty farmers, there were only six or seven who raised their rents directly from the produce of their farms; all the rest got their rent partly in some branch of trade, such as spinning and weaving woollen, linen, or cotton. The cottagers were employed entirely in this manner, except for a few weeks in the harvest. Being one of those cottagers, and intimately acquainted with all the rest, as well as every farmer, I am better able to relate particularly how the change from the old system of hand labour to the new one of machinery operated in raising the price of land.

Cottage rents at that time, with convenient loom-shop, and a small garden attached, were from one and a half to two guineas per annum. The father of a family would earn from eight shillings to half a guinea at his loom; and his sons, if he had one, two, or three alongside of him, six or eight shillings each per week: but the great sheet-anchor of all cottages and small farms, was the labour attached to the hand-wheel; and when it is considered that it required six to eight hands to prepare and spin yarn, of any of the three materials I have mentioned, sufficient for the consumption of one weaver,—this shows clearly the inexhaustible source there was for labour for every person from the age of seven to eighty years (who retained their sight and could move their hands) to earn their bread, say one to three shillings per week, without going to the parish.

From the year 1770 to 1788, a complete change had gradually been effected in the spinning of yarns; that of wool had disappeared altogether, and that of linen was also nearly gone; cotton, cotton, cotton, was become the almost universal material for employment; the hand-wheels were all thrown into lumber-rooms; the yarn was all spun on common jennies; the carding for all numbers up to 40 hanks in the pound was done on carding engines; but the finer numbers of 60 to 80 were still carded by hand, it being a general opinion at that time that machine-carding would never answer for fine numbers. In weaving no great alteration had taken place during these eighteen years, save the introduction of the fly-shuttle, a change in the woollen looms to fustians and calico, and the linen nearly gone, except the few fabrics in which there was a mixture of cotton. To the best of my recollection, there was no increase of looms during this period, but rather a decrease.

The next fifteen years, viz. from 1788 to 1803, I

40 hanks] 840 yards.

will call the golden age of this great trade. Water-twist and common jenny-yarns had been freely used in Bolton, &c., for some years prior to 1788; but it was the introduction of mule-yarns about this time, along with the other yarns, all assimilating together and producing every description of clothing, from the finest book muslin, lace, stocking, &c., to the heaviest fustian, that gave such a preponderating wealth through the loom.

The families I have been speaking of, whether as cottagers or small farmers, had supported themselves by the different occupations I have mentioned in spinning and manufacturing, as their progenitors from the earliest institutions of society had done before them. But the mule-twist now coming into vogue, for the warp, as well as weft, added to the water-twist and common jenny-yarns, with an increasing demand for every fabric the loom could produce, put all hands in request, of every age and description. The fabrics made from wool and linen vanished, while the old loom-shops being insufficient, every lumber-room, even old barns, cart-houses, and out-buildings of any description, were repaired, windows broken through the old blank walls, and all fitted up for loom-shops. This source of making room being at length exhausted, new weavers' cottages, with loom-shops, rose up in every direction; all immediately filled, and, when in full work, the weekly circulation of money, as the price of labour only, rose to five times the amount ever before experienced in this district, every family bringing home weekly 40, 60, 80, 100, or even 120 shillings per week! It may be easily conceived, that this sudden increase of the circulating medium would, in a few years, not only show itself in affording all the necessaries and comforts of life these families might require, but also be felt by those who, abstractedly speaking, might be considered disinterested spectators; but in reality they were not so, for all felt it, and that in the most agreeable way, too; for this money in its

peregrinations left something in the pockets of every stone-mason, carpenter, slater, plasterer, glazier, joiner, &c.; as well as the corn-dealer, cheese-monger, butcher, and shopkeepers of every description. The farmers participated as much as any class, by the prices they obtained for their corn, butter, eggs, fowls, with every other article the soil or farm-yard could produce, all of which advanced at length to nearly three times the former price. Nor was the portion of this wealth inconsiderable that found its way into the coffers of the Cheshire squires, who had estates in this district, the rents of their farms being doubled, and in many instances trebled.

Origin of Power-loom Weaving.
WILLIAM RADCLIFFE (1760–1841).

53. *Water-twist.* Yarn spun in Arkwright's water frame, a machine at first worked by water power.

(Read in connexion with this 'The Poor Law', p. 282; 'Employment of Children in Coal-mines', p. 292; 'The Cry of the Children', p. 289; and 'Overcrowding', p. 308.)

THE NIGHT OF THE REFORM BILL

MARCH 30TH, 1831

DEAR ELLIS,

Such a scene as the division of last Tuesday I never saw, and never expect to see again. If I should live fifty years, the impression of it will be as fresh and sharp in my mind as if it had just taken place. It was like seeing Caesar stabbed in the Senate House, or seeing Oliver taking the mace from the table; a sight to be seen only once, and never to be forgotten. The crowd overflowed the House in every part. When the strangers were cleared out, and the doors locked, we had six hundred and eight members present,—more by fifty-five than ever were in a division before. The Ayes and Noes were like two volleys of cannon from

opposite sides of a field of battle. When the opposition went out into the lobby, an operation which took up twenty minutes or more, we spread ourselves over the benches on both sides of the House: for there were many of us who had not been able to find a seat during the evening. When the doors were shut we began to speculate on our numbers. Everybody was desponding. 'We have lost it. We are only two hundred and eighty at most. I do not think we are two hundred and fifty. They are three hundred. Alderman Thompson has counted them. He says they are two hundred and ninety-nine.' This was the talk on our benches. I wonder that men who have been long in Parliament do not acquire a better *coup d'œil* for numbers. The House when only the Ayes were in it, looked to me a very fair House,—much fuller than it generally is even on debates of considerable interest. I had no hope, however, of three hundred. As the tellers passed along our lowest row on the left-hand side the interest was insupportable,—two hundred and ninety-one,—two hundred and ninety-two—we were all standing up and stretching forward, telling with the tellers. At three hundred there was a short cry of joy,—at three hundred and two another,—suppressed however in a moment: for we did not yet know what the hostile force might be. We knew, however, that we could not be severely beaten. The doors were thrown open, and in they came. Each of them as he entered, brought some different report of their numbers. It must have been impossible, as you may conceive, in the lobby, crowded as they were, to form any exact estimate. First we heard that they were three hundred and three; then that number rose to three hundred and ten; then went down to three hundred and seven. Alexander Barry told me that he had counted, and that they were three hundred and four. We were all breathless with anxiety, when Charles Wood, who stood near the door, jumped up on a bench and cried

out. 'They are only three hundred and one.' We set up a shout that you might have heard to Charing Cross, waving our hats, stamping against the floor, and clapping our hands. The tellers scarcely got through the crowd: for the House was thronged up to the table, and all the floor was fluctuating with heads like the pit of a theatre. But you might have heard a pin drop as Duncannon read the numbers. Then again the shouts broke out, and many of us shed tears. I could scarcely refrain. And the jaw of Peel fell; and the face of Twiss was as the face of a damned soul; and Herries looked like Judas taking his necktie off for the last operation. We shook hands, and clapped each other on the back, and went out laughing, crying, and huzzaing into the lobby. And no sooner were the outer doors opened than another shout answered that within the House. All the passages, and the stairs into the waiting-rooms, were thronged by people who had waited till four in the morning to know the issue. We passed through a narrow lane between two thick masses of them; and all the way down they were shouting and waving their hats, till we got into the open air. I called a cabriolet, and the first thing the driver asked was, 'Is the Bill carried?' 'Yes, by one.' 'Thank God for it, Sir.' And away I rode to Gray's Inn,—and so ended a scene which will probably never be equalled till the reformed Parliament wants reforming; and that I hope will not be till the days of our grandchildren! . . .

Ever yours,
T. B. MACAULAY.

Life and Works of Macaulay (1800–59).
SIR GEORGE O. TREVELYAN.

TRAVELLING

By Canal.

1774

The Duke of Bridgewater has just built two packet boats, which are every day towed from Manchester to Warrington; one carries six score passengers, the other eighty. Each boat had a coffee-room at the head, from whence wines, &c., are sold out by the Captain's wife. Next to this is the first cabin, which is 2/6; the second cabin is 1/6; and the third cabin, 1/-, for the passage or voyage upon the canal.

Annual Register.

October 9, 1783

To merchants, grocers, agents, shipmasters, or others, who have occasion to transport goods or to be accommodated as passengers through the Forth and Clyde Navigation. The proprietors of the canal, wishing to establish a system of facility and dispatch calculated to render this conveyance as secure and certain as a stage wagon, have built and completely fitted two stage vessels, to ply constantly upon the canal. The burden of each is about 50 tons, and these vessels are constructed to carry both goods and passengers, and to track through in one day. Apartments are fitted up commodiously for both cabin and steerage passengers, and every species of goods excepting grain in bulk will be received and carefully shipped and unloaded by Andrew French at the West Basin, and Alexandra Carrick at Sea Lock, Bainsford and Camelon. For safety, care, and attention, the proprietors are responsible. The track boat *Glasgow* will begin her first periodical trip on Monday the 20th instant, at seven o'clock in the morning. Cabin passengers will be conveyed at the moderate rate of 2/- or a penny per mile in full: steerage passengers to pay only a 1/- or a halfpenny per mile in full, and

both to be allowed 40 lb. of luggage. N.B.—All passengers going to Glasgow at the West Basin and those going East will be landed at Camelon near Falkirk, if desired, from which, if proper encouragement is given, it is expected stage coaches, caravans, and wagons will probably be established to convey passengers, with parcels and other goods, at a low rate, by land carriage to Edinburgh.

Glasgow Mercury.

Competition with the Coach and 'Tramroad'.

1831

The boats are more airy, light, and comfortable than any coach. They permit the passengers to move about from the outer to the inner cabin; and the fares per mile are one penny in the first, and three farthings in the second cabin. The passengers are all carried under cover, having also the privilege of an uncovered space. These boats are drawn by two horses, the prices of which may be from £50 to £60 per pair, in stages of four miles in length, which are done in from twenty-two to twenty-five minutes, including stoppages to let out and take in passengers, each set of horses doing three or four stages alternately each day. In fact, the boats are drawn through this narrow and shallow canal at a velocity which many celebrated engineers had demonstrated, and which the public believed, to be impossible.

Advertisement.

Roads before Macadam.

1703

We set out at six o'clock in the morning to go for Petworth, and did not get out of the coaches (save only when we were overturned or stuck fast in the mire) till we arrived at our journey's end. 'Twas hard service for the Prince to sit fourteen hours in the coach that day, without eating anything, and passing

through the worst ways that I ever saw in my life. We were thrown but once indeed in going, but both our coach (which was the leading one) and his Highness's body coach would have suffered very often, if the nimble boors of Sussex had not frequently poised it, or supported it with their shoulders from Godalming almost to Petworth, and the nearer we approached to the Duke's home the more inaccessible it seemed to be. The last nine miles of the way cost us six hours' time to conquer them, and indeed we had never done it if our good master had not several times lent us a pair of horses out of his own coach, whereby we were enabled to trace out the way for him. They made us believe that the several grounds we crossed and his grace's park would alleviate the fatigue; but I protest I could hardly perceive any difference between them and the common road.

Annals of Queen Anne.

Edinburgh to London.

1822

The rate of travelling of the mail coach from London to Edinburgh was formerly about seven miles per hour; for a considerable time past it has been eight miles and a half per hour the whole way, exclusive of refreshments.

Since the Edinburgh mail began to run at the rate of eight miles and a half an hour, the whole of the road through England has, in consequence of the adoption of the measures suggested by Mr. Macadam, been greatly improved in the solidity and smoothness of its surface, and is still daily improving in these respects. . . .

If the mail could travel eight miles and a half per hour twelve months ago, it could now, in the much improved state of the roads, travel with equal or greater ease at the rate of nine miles an hour,[1] in-

[1] In 1836 the average speed of the mail coach was ten miles per hour.

cluding all stoppages. Persons connected with stage coaches say that there would be no difficulty in conveying a stage coach of the weight of the mail coach, with its letters and passengers, at the rate of nine miles an hour along the whole road, with profit to the owners, provided it was a well-employed coach. It would, of course, be necessary to run none but good horses with some blood in them and to drive short stages. As the whole time of travelling the journey will be shortened, passengers will more frequently go through the whole way than at present, which will ensure better employment for the mail coach; and as, for the same reason, fewer stops for refreshment will be necessary, including them in the general rate of travelling will not be so great an addition to the exertion as might at first appear; they will need to be four; breakfast, dinner, and supper, the day after setting out, and breakfast on the following day.

Blackwood's Magazine (1822).

1825

The direct mail from London reached the Post Office on Sunday afternoon at ten minutes past five, nearly an hour within its time thus accomplishing the journey between London and Edinburgh (390 miles) in the short space of forty-five hours. The rapidity, ease, and safety with which communication can now be had with every part of Britain is one of the most striking improvements in modern times, and forms an amusing contrast to the delays, dangers, and difficulties, that within the recollection of many awaited the unfortunate traveller.

Scots Magazine (1825).

60. *the Prince.* Queen Anne's husband.

87. *Macadam.* John Loudon Macadam (1756–1836) was the first in this country to construct roads in a scientific way, with broken pieces of stone welded together by traffic.

THE FIRST RAILWAY

1825

(The Stockton and Darlington line was opened Sept. 27, 1825. Stephenson, who was responsible for the construction of the line, drove the engine.)

On Tuesday, that great work, the Darlington and Stockton Railway, was formally opened by the proprietors for the use of the public. It is a single railway of twenty-five miles in length, and will open the London market to the colliers of the western part of the county of Durham, as well as facilitate the obtaining of fuel to the country along its line, and in the northern parts of Yorkshire. . . .

The novelty of the scene and the fineness of the day had attracted an immense concourse of spectators—the fields on each side of the railway being literally covered with ladies and gentlemen on horseback, and pedestrians of all kinds. The train of carriages was then attached to a locomotive engine of the most improved construction, and built by Mr. George Stephenson, in the following order: Locomotive engine, with the engineer (Mr. Stephenson) and assistants; tender, with coals and water; next, six wagons loaded with coals and flour; then an elegant covered coach, with the committee and other proprietors of the railway; then twenty-one wagons, fitted up on the occasion for passengers; and, last of all, six wagons loaded with coals, making altogether a train of thirty-eight carriages, exclusive of the engine and tender. Tickets were distributed to the number of near 300, for those who, it was intended, should occupy the coach and wagons; but such was the pressure and crowd, that both loaded and empty carriages were instantly filled with passengers. The signal being given, the engine started off with this immense train

of carriages, and here the scene became most interesting—the horsemen galloping across the fields to accompany the engine, and the people on foot running on each side of the road endeavouring in vain to keep up. . . .

Nothing could exceed the beauty and grandeur of the scene. Throughout the whole distance, the fields and lanes were covered with elegantly dressed ladies, and all descriptions of spectators. The bridges, under which the procession, in some places, darted with astonishing rapidity, were lined with spectators cheering and waving their hats, which had a grand effect. At Darlington the whole inhabitants of the town were out to witness the procession. But though all along the line people on foot crowded the fields on each side, and here and there a lady or gentleman on horseback, yet the cavalcade was not joined by many horses and carriages until it approached within a few miles of Stockton ; and here the situation of the railway, which runs parallel and close to the turnpike road leading from Darlington to Yarm and Stockton, gave them a fine opportunity of viewing the procession. Numerous horses, carriages, gigs, carts, and other vehicles, travelled along with the engine and her immense train of carriages, in some places within a few yards, without the horses seeming the least frightened ; and at one time, the passengers by the engine had the pleasure of accompanying and cheering their brother passengers by the stage coach which passed alongside, and of observing the striking contrast exhibited by the power of the engine and horses—the engine with her six hundred passengers and load, and the coach with four horses and only sixteen passengers.

Scots Magazine (1825).

THE POOR LAW

1834

(A Commission was appointed in 1832 to inquire into the working of the laws for the relief of the poor in England and Wales, including the 'Speenhamland Act of Parliament', and to report what alterations should be made. Evidence was collected from nearly every town and village in England. The following is an extract from the Commissioners' Report.)

It is now our painful duty to report, that in the greater part of the districts which we have been able to examine, the fund, which the 43rd of Elizabeth [*secpp.* 128–30, *above*] directed to be employed in setting to work children and persons capable of labour, but using no daily trade, and in the necessary relief of the impotent, is applied to purposes opposed to the letter, and still more to the spirit of that Law, and destructive to the morals of the most numerous class, and to the welfare of all.

Outdoor Relief.

The great source of abuse is the Outdoor Relief afforded to the Able-bodied on their own account, or on that of their families. This is given either in kind or in money.

In kind: generally by the payment of the pauper's rent, and exempting the house from rates.

An assistant commissioner for Wales annexes a copy of a guarantee for rent of pauper's apartment from a parish officer on behalf of the parish, from himself as overseer to himself as landlord:

> '*We, the Overseers of the Poor of the parish of Llanfachraeth, will pay the rent of A. Jones, pauper of our parish, to W. Hughes, of Bodedern, the sum of* £1 5 0 *yearly, commencing to-morrow the 13th Nov.*, 1827, *for an apartment of a house in Bodedern.*
>
> (*Signed*) *W. Hughes.*'

In money: in one of five different ways: Relief without labour; the Allowance System; the Roundsmen System; Parish Employment; the Labour Rate System.

1. *Relief without labour.*

'*The parish giving to those who are or who profess to be without employment a daily or weekly sum, without requiring from the applicant any labour.*'

(Young able men at Kidderminster received 2*s.* per week.)

But it is more usual to give a rather larger weekly sum, and to force the applicants to give up a certain portion of their time by confining them in a gravel-pit or in some other enclosure or directing them to sit at a certain spot and do nothing, or obliging them to attend a roll-call several times in the day, or by any contrivance which shall prevent their leisure from becoming a means either of profit or of amusement.

2. *Allowance.*

'*The parish allowing to labourers, who are employed by individuals, relief in aid of their wages.*'

Resolution of the Magistrates of Cambridge, 1829:

'The Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor are requested to regulate the incomes of such persons as may apply to them for relief or employment, according to the price of fine bread; namely,

A single woman, the price of $3\frac{1}{2}$ quartern loaves per week.

A single man, the price of $4\frac{1}{2}$ quartern loaves per week.

A man and his wife, the price of 8 quartern loaves per week.

A man and his wife and one child, the price of $9\frac{1}{2}$ quartern loaves per week.

Man, wife, four children and upwards, at the price of $2\frac{1}{2}$ quartern loaves per head per week.

It will be necessary to add to the above income in

all cases of sickness or other kind of distress; and particularly of such persons or families who deserve encouragement by their good behaviour, whom parish officers should mark both by commendation and reward.'

(The price of a quartern loaf in 1829 was 9*d.* to 10½*d.*)

3. *The Roundsmen System.*

'*The parish paying the occupiers of property to employ the applicants for relief at a rate of wages fixed by the parish, and depending not on the services, but on the wants of applicants, the employer being repaid out of the poor-rate all that he advances in wages beyond a certain sum.*'

[Enstone, Oxford.] 'All that apply to the vestry for employment have half their money, or more, out of the poor-rates. They allow, with all the earnings, 5/- per week to the man and his wife, and 1/6 per head for the children, many or few; half from the master and the rest from the rates.

A married man and his wife, with no child, will receive 5/- per week; a single man, perhaps 3/6 and 4/-; half from the master and the rest from the poor's-rates.'

4. *Parish Employment.*

'*The parish employing and paying the applicants for relief.*'

'*The 43rd of Elizabeth does not authorize relief to be afforded to any but the impotent, except in return for work.*'

'The plan generally in use in the agricultural villages is, upon the man's applying to the overseer for work, to send him upon some part of the parish roads, where he is expected to work,—not the farmer's hours, or anything like them, but to begin at eight, to leave at twelve for dinner, an hour, and to leave the roads finally at four. It is the business of the overseer or

the surveyor of the roads, a farmer or a tradesman, who, paid or not, has his own business to attend to, to see that the men are actually working. While he is present, and the farmers take credit to themselves for riding up once or twice a day to the roads, the men bestir themselves a little; but the moment his back is turned, a man who gives himself any trouble is laughed at by his companions. As the overseer at Kettering told me, their remark is,—"You must have your 12/- a week, or your 10/- a week, whether you work or not; I would not be such a fool as to work, &c."; and, of course, under these circumstances, they do anything but work.'

5. *The Labour Rate System.*

By an agreement among the rate-payers, that each of them shall employ and pay out of his own money a certain number of the labourers who have settlements in the parish, in proportion, not to his real demand for labour, but according to his rental or to his contribution to the rates, or to the number of horses that he keeps for tillage, or to the number of acres that he occupies, or according to some other scale.

Indoor Relief: i.e. the Workhouse or Bastille.

'Some workhouses were well managed, the aged and the impotent being supported in comfort. But in by far the greater number of cases, the workhouse is a large almshouse, in which the young are trained in idleness, ignorance, and vice; the able-bodied maintained in sluggish sensual indolence; the aged and more respectable exposed to all the misery that is incident to dwelling in such a society, without government or classification, and the whole body of inmates subsisted on food far exceeding both in kind and in amount, not merely the diet of the independent labourer, but that of the majority of the persons who contribute to their support.'

Effects on the Labourers.

As regards those not actually relieved:

The allowance system produced the monstrous result of penalizing the thrifty worker. Many instances were given where, in pauperized districts, those who preserved their independence were likely to lose their employment. Paupers were preferred.

(Farmers would rather employ a pauper than support him, through the rates, in addition to paying wages to an independent workman.)

As regards those actually relieved:

Here the injury done was even more certain.

1. One witness could decidedly state that, when once a family had received relief, it was to be expected their descendants for some generations would receive it also:

'The child remembers his father's actions, and the hereditary pauper increases his ranks by instruction as well as by example.'

2. Another witness said:

'Whoever comes to us, and swears before a magistrate that he has neither work nor money, we are obliged to relieve, because we can neither give them work, nor prove that they have constant employment; and paupers now understand the law, and also the practice of magistrates so well from the many hours that they spend in police offices applying for summonses, &c., that they claim relief, not at all as a matter of favour, but as a matter of right.'

The effect of *Allowance* was to weaken, if not to destroy, all ties of affection between parent and child. Whenever a lad came to earn wages, or to receive parish relief on his own account (and this one must recollect was at the age of fourteen), although he might continue to lodge with his parents, he did not throw his money into a common purse and board with them, but bought his own loaf and piece of bacon, which he devoured alone. The most disgraceful

quarrels arose from mutual accusations of theft; and, as the child knew that he had been nurtured at the expense of the parish, he had no filial attachment to his parents. Even mothers and children would not nurse each other in sickness unless they were paid for it.

Some Recommendations of the Commission.

1. *The Workhouse Test.*

'FIRST, THAT EXCEPT AS TO MEDICAL ATTENDANCE, AND SUBJECT TO THE EXCEPTION RESPECTING APPRENTICESHIP HEREINAFTER STATED, ALL RELIEF WHATEVER TO ABLE-BODIED PERSONS OR TO THEIR FAMILIES, OTHERWISE THAN IN WELL-REGULATED WORKHOUSES (I. E. PLACES WHERE THEY MAY BE SET TO WORK ACCORDING TO THE SPIRIT AND INTENTION OF THE 43RD OF ELIZABETH) SHALL BE DECLARED UNLAWFUL, AND SHALL CEASE, IN MANNER AND AT PERIODS HEREINAFTER SPECIFIED; AND THAT ALL RELIEF AFFORDED IN RESPECT OF CHILDREN UNDER THE AGE OF SIXTEEN SHALL BE CONSIDERED AS AFFORDED TO THEIR PARENTS.

It is true that nothing is necessary to arrest the progress of pauperism, except that all who receive relief from the parish should work for the parish exclusively, as hard and for less wages than independent labourers work for individual employers, and we believe that in most districts useful work, which will not interfere with the ordinary demand for labour, may be obtained in greater quantity than is usually conceived.... A well-regulated workhouse meets all cases, and appears to be the only means by which the intention of the statute of Elizabeth, that all the able-bodied shall be set to work, can be carried into execution.

. . . . . .

And although we admit that able-bodied persons

in the receipt of outdoor allowances and partial relief, may be, and in some cases are, placed in a condition less eligible than that of the independent labourer of the lowest class; yet to persons so situated, relief in a well-regulated workhouse would not be a hardship: and even if it be, in some rare cases, a hardship, it appears from the evidence that it is a hardship to which the good of society requires the applicant to submit. The express or implied ground of his application is that he is in danger of perishing from want. Requesting to be rescued from that danger out of the property of others, he must accept assistance on the terms, whatever they may be, which the common welfare requires. The bane of all pauper legislation has been the legislating for extreme cases. Every exception, every violation of the general rule to meet a real case of unusual hardship, lets in a whole class of fraudulent cases, by which that rule must in time be destroyed. Where cases of real hardship occur, the remedy must be applied by individual charity, a virtue for which no system of compulsory relief can be or ought to be a substitute.'

2. *Central Control* (the Local Government Board, now Ministry of Health).

'WE RECOMMEND THE APPOINTMENT OF A CENTRAL BOARD TO CONTROL THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE POOR LAWS, WITH SUCH ASSISTANT COMMISSIONERS AS MAY BE FOUND REQUISITE; AND THAT THE COMMISSIONERS BE EMPOWERED AND DIRECTED TO FRAME AND ENFORCE REGULATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF WORKHOUSES, AND AS TO THE NATURE AND AMOUNT OF THE RELIEF TO BE GIVEN AND THE LABOUR TO BE EXACTED IN THEM, AND THAT SUCH REGULATIONS SHALL, AS FAR AS MAY BE PRACTICABLE, BE UNIFORM THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.'

(Report of the 1834 Commission.)

First Set of Regulations, 1835.

'*Firstly.*—No relief shall be given in money (except in cases of sickness or accident) to any able-bodied male pauper who is in employment (the same not being parish work) and in the receipt of earnings; nor to any part of his family who shall be dependent on him, or for whose relief and maintenance he shall be liable.

Secondly.—If any able-bodied male pauper shall apply to be set to work by the parish, one-half at least of the relief which may be afforded to him or to his family shall be in kind.

Thirdly.—One-half at least of the relief which may be afforded to widows or single women, not being aged or infirm, shall be in kind.

Fourthly.—No relief shall be given to any able-bodied male pauper by payment of the rent for his house or lodging, or for the house or lodging of any part of his family who shall be dependent upon him and for whose relief and maintenance he shall be liable, or by allowance towards such rent.'

(Quoted in the 1909 Report of the Commission on the Poor Laws.)

THE CRY OF THE CHILDREN

1838

Do ye hear the children weeping, O my brothers,
Ere the sorrow comes with years?
They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,
And *that* cannot stop their tears.
The young lambs are bleating in the meadows,
The young birds are chirping in the nest,
The young fawns are playing with the shadows,
The young flowers are blowing toward the west—

But the young, young children, O my brothers,
They are weeping bitterly!
They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
In the country of the free.

. . . . . .

And well may the children weep before you!
They are weary ere they run;
They have never seen the sunshine, nor the glory
Which is brighter than the sun.
They know the grief of man, without its wisdom;
They sink in man's despair, without its calm;
Are slaves, without the liberty in Christdom,
Are martyrs, by the pang without the palm,—
Are worn as if with age, yet unretrievingly
The harvest of its memories cannot reap,—
Are orphans of the earthly love and heavenly.
Let them weep! let them weep!

They look up with their pale and sunken faces,
And their look is dread to see,
For they mind you of their angels in high places,
With eyes turned on Deity!—
'How long,' they say, 'how long, O cruel nation,
Will you stand, to move the world, on a child's heart,—
Stifle down with a mailed heel its palpitation,
And tread onward to your throne amid the mart?
Our blood splashes upward, O gold-heaper,
And your purple shows your path!
But the child's sob in the silence curses deeper
Than the strong man in his wrath.'

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING (1806-61).

These verses appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*, August, 1838, shortly after Home's 'Report on the Employment of Children in Mines and Manufactories'. The attention which the poem attracted hastened the passing of Sir Robert Peel's Act in 1844 for regulating the employment of young children.

O LORD, HOW LONG

1840

(Ebenezer Elliott, the poet of the Anti-Corn Law League, thought that opposition to the bread-taxes and amelioration in the conditions of labour were the most important aims for the working classes of the first half of the nineteenth century. He lived just long enough to see the taxes abolished in 1846.)

Up, widow, up, and swing the fly;
  Or push the grating file!
Our bread is tax'd, and rents are high,
  That wolves may burst with bile.
Sire of the hopeless! canst thou sleep?
  Up, up, and toil for ghouls,
Who drink our tears, but never weep,
  And soulless eat our souls!

Child, what hast thou with sleep to do?
  Awake, and dry thine eyes!
Thy tiny hands must labour too;
  Our bread is tax'd—arise!
Arise, and toil long hours twice seven,
  For pennies two or three;
Thy woes make angels weep in Heaven,
  But England still is free.

Up, weary man, of eighty-five,
  And toil in hopeless woe!
Our bread is tax'd, our rivals thrive,
  Our gods will have it so.
Yet God is undethron'd on high,
  And undethroned will be:
Father of all! hear Thou our cry,
  And England *shall* be free.

Methinks, thy nation-wedding waves
  Upbraid us as they flow;
Thy winds, disdaining fetter'd slaves,
  Reproach us as they blow;

Methinks thy bolts are waxing hot,
  Thy clouds have voices too;
'Father!' they cry, 'hast thou forgot
  Land-butcher'd Peterloo?'

Oh, Vengeance!—No, forgive, forgive!
  'Tis frailty still that errs:
Forgive?—Revenge! Shall murderers live?
  Christ bless'd *His* murderers.
Father, we only ask our own;
  We say, 'Be commerce free;
Let barter have his mutton-bone,
  Let toil be liberty.'

They smite in vain who smite with swords,
  And scourge with volleyed fire;
Our weapon is the whip of words,
  And truth's all-teaching ire;
The blow it gives, the wound it makes,
  Life yet unborn shall see,
And shake it, like a whip of snakes,
  At unborn villainy.

E. ELLIOTT (1781–1849).

1. *Up, widow, up.* Women at this time were employed in factories both night and day. Lord Shaftesbury's Act of 1844 limited their hours to twelve, and those of children under thirteen to six per day.

the fly. The shuttle, then thrown to and fro by hand.

32. *Peterloo.* See the account on p. 263, above.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN IN COAL-MINES

1842

'I think that the points I wish to establish should be made out by statements and evidence rather than by an attempt at declamation.

In the first place, I shall present the House with the result of the evidence respecting the age and sex of persons employed in the mines and collieries. The extent to which the employment of females prevails varies very much in different districts; in some parts of the country none but males are employed, in other places a great number of females. With respect to the age at which children are worked in mines and collieries in South Staffordshire, it is common to begin at 7 years old; in Shropshire some begin as early as 6 years of age; in Warwickshire the same; in Leicestershire nearly the same. In Derbyshire many begin at 5, many between 5 and 6 years, many at 7. In the West Riding of Yorkshire it is not uncommon for infants even of 5 years old to be sent to the pit. About Halifax and the neighbourhood children are sometimes brought to the pits at the age of 6 years, and are taken out of their beds at 4 o'clock. Bradford and Leeds the same; in Lancashire and Cheshire, from 5 to 6. Near Oldham children are worked as low "as 4 years old and in the small collieries towards the hill some are so young they are brought to work in their bed-gowns". In Cumberland many at 7; in South Durham, as early as 5 years of age, and by no means uncommonly at 6. In reference to this I may quote a remark of Dr. Mitchell, one of the Commissioners; he says, "Though the very young children are not many in proportion, there are still such a number as is painful to contemplate, and which the great coal-owners will perhaps now learn for the first time, and I feel a firm belief that they will do so with sorrow and regret." Now, in justice to the great coal-owners of the North, I must say, that if they had been the only parties with whom we had to deal, the necessity for this Bill would perhaps not have existed: they have exhibited, in many respects, care and kindness towards their people. Many children, the Report goes on to state, are employed in North Durham and Northumberland at 5, and between 5 and 6: "The

instances in which children begin to work at 7, and between 7 and 8, are so numerous, that it would be tedious to recite them." In the east of Scotland it is more common for children to begin work at 5 and 6 than in any part of England. In the west of Scotland children are taken down into the pits at a very early age, often when 8 years old, and even earlier. In North Wales the cases are rare of children being employed at 5 or 6—they are very common at 7. In South Wales more cases are recorded of the employment of children in the pits at very early ages than in any other district. It is not unusual to take them into the pits at 4 years. Many are absolutely carried to the work. In South Gloucestershire cases are recorded of children employed at 6 years, the general age is about 9. In North Somersetshire many begin to work between 6 and 7. In the south of Ireland no children at all are employed. All the underground work, which in the coal-mines of England, Scotland, and Wales is done by young children, appears in Ireland to be done by young persons between the ages of 13 and 18. Now, with respect to sex, the Report states that in South Staffordshire no females are employed in underground work, nor in North Staffordshire. In Shropshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, and Derbyshire, the same. In the West Riding of Yorkshire the practice of employing females underground is universal. About Halifax and the neighbourhood girls from 5 years old and upwards regularly perform the same work as boys. At Bradford and Leeds, far from uncommon. In Lancashire and Cheshire it is the general custom for girls and women to be employed. In North Lancashire, throughout the whole of the district, girls and women are regularly employed underground. In Cumberland there are none, excepting in one old colliery, nor in Durham, nor in Northumberland. In the east of Scotland the employment of females is general, but in the west of Scotland extremely rare. In North Wales, some on

the surface, none underground. In South Wales it is not uncommon. In Gloucestershire and Somersetshire there are none. In none of the collieries in the coal-fields of Ireland was a single instance found of a female child, nor a female of any age, being employed in any kind of work. I must observe that, with respect to that country, neither children of tender years nor females are employed in underground operations. I have often, Sir, admired the generosity and warm-heartedness of the Irish people; and I must say, that if this is to be taken as a specimen of their barbarism, I would not exchange it for all the refinement and polish of most civilized nations of the globe.

The next point to which I desire to call the attention of the House is the character of the localities to which these young creatures are consigned. . . . "While efficient ventilation", the Report adds, "is neglected, less attention is paid to drainage. Some pits are dry and comfortable. Many are so wet that the people have to work all day over their shoes in water, at the same time that the water is constantly dripping from the roof; in other pits, instead of dripping, it constantly rains, as they term it; so that in a short time after they commence the labour of the day their clothes are drenched; and in this state, their feet also in water, they work all day. The children especially (and in general the younger the age the more painfully this unfavourable state of the place of work is felt) complain bitterly of this." It must be borne in mind that it is in this district—Derbyshire—that the regular hours of a full day's labour are 14, and occasionally 16; and the children have to walk a mile or two at night without changing their clothes. In the West Riding of Yorkshire it appears that there are very few collieries with thin seams where the main roadways exceed a yard in height, and in some they do not exceed 26 or 28 inches; nay, in some the height is as little even as 22 inches; so that in such places the youngest child cannot work without the most

constrained posture. The ventilation, besides, in general is very bad, and the drainage worse. In Oldham the mountain-seams are wrought in a very rude manner. There is very insufficient drainage. The ways are so low that only little boys can work in them, which they do naked, and often in mud and water, dragging sledge-tubs by the girdle and chain. In North Lancashire, "the drainage is often extremely bad: a pit of not above 20 inches seam", says a witness, "had a foot of water in it, so that he could hardly keep his head out of water." In East Scotland where the side roads do not exceed from 22–28 inches in height . . . females have to crawl backwards and forwards with their small carts. The whole of these places are in a most deplorable state as to ventilation, and the drainage is quite as bad. The evidence, as given by the young people and the old colliers themselves, of their sufferings is absolutely piteous. In North Wales, in many of the mines, the roads are low and narrow, the air foul, the places of work dusty, dark, and damp, and the ventilation most imperfect. In South Wales, in many pits, the ventilation is grossly neglected, and the Report complains of the quantity of the carbonic acid gas, which produces the most injurious effects, though not actually bad enough to prevent the people from working. So long as a candle will burn, the labour is continued.

The next subject to which I shall request your attention is the nature of the employment in these localities. Now, it appears that the practice prevails to a lamentable extent of making young persons and children of a tender age draw loads by means of the girdle and chain. This practice prevails generally in Shropshire, in Derbyshire, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in Lancashire, in Cheshire, in the east of Scotland, in North and South Wales, and in South Gloucestershire. The child, it appears, has a girdle bound round its waist, to which is attached a chain, which passes under the legs, and is attached to the

cart. The child is obliged to pass on all fours, and the chain passes under what, therefore, in that posture, might be called the hind legs; and thus they have to pass through avenues not so good as a common sewer, quite as wet, and oftentimes more contracted. This kind of labour they have to continue during several hours, in a temperature described as perfectly intolerable.

"I went into the pit at seven years of age" (said a witness) "when I drew by the girdle and chain. The skin was broken and the blood ran down. I have seen many draw at six."

Now, Sir, it appears that they drag these heavy weights some 12,000 yards, some 14,000, and some 16,000 yards daily. "In the east of Scotland", says the Commissioner, "the persons employed in coal bearing are almost always girls and women. They carry coal on their back on unrailed roads, with burdens varying from $\frac{3}{4}$ cwt. to 3 cwt.—a cruel slaving", says the Sub-Commissioner, "revolting to humanity. I found a little girl," says he, "only 6 years old, carrying half a cwt., and making regularly 14 long journeys a day. With a burden varying from 1 cwt. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt., the height ascended and the distance along the roads, added together, exceeded in each journey the height of St. Paul's Cathedral." Thus we find a child of 6 years old, with a burden of at least half a cwt., making 14 times a day a journey equal in distance to the height of St. Paul's Cathedral. . . .

Is it not enough to announce these things to an assembly of Christian men and British gentlemen? For twenty millions of money you purchased the liberation of the negro; and it was a blessed deed. You may, this night, by a cheap and harmless vote, invigorate the hearts of thousands of your country-people, enable them to walk erect in newness of life, to enter on the enjoyment of their inherited freedom, and avail themselves (if they will accept them) of the opportunities of virtue, of morality, and religion.

These, Sir, are the ends that I venture to propose: "To break off our sins by righteousness and our iniquities by showing mercy to the poor."'

LORD ASHLEY, afterwards SHAFTESBURY (1801–5).
From Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, July 7, 1842.

(For a description of the life of a child in the Potteries during this period, read the opening chapters of Mr. Arnold Bennett's *Clayhanger*, especially pp. 28–34.)

174. *Scotland.* Up to about 1770 colliers and salters were serfs—bound to the soil. (See *Redgauntlet*, note to chap. 21.)

THE CHARTISTS

1838–48

April 10th, 1848. 'All is right as yet. Large crowds, but no one expects any row, as the Chartists will not face Westminster Bridge, but are gone round by London Bridge and Holborn, and are going to send up only the legal number of Delegates to the House. The only fear is marauding in the suburbs at night; but do not fear for me, I shall be safe at Chelsea at 5. I met Colonel H., who says there is no danger at all, and the two M—s, who are gone as specials, to get hot, dusty, and tired—nothing else. I will write by the latest post.'

April 11th, 8 *a.m.* 'All as quiet as a mouse as yet. The storm is blown over till to-morrow, but all are under arms—specials, police, and military. Mr. Maurice is in great excitement; and we are getting out placards for the walls, to speak a word for God with. You must let me stay up to-night, for I am helping in a glorious work; and I spend the evening with Archdeacon Hare, Scott, and Maurice. Send down to the cottage lecture, and say I shall not have it till Saturday, and say that the riots have kept me. I feel

we may do something. Pray for us that God may guide us, and open our mouths to speak boldly.'

Letters and Memories.
CHARLES KINGSLEY (1819–75).

DISTRESS IN IRELAND

1847

The Famine.

I left Dublin by mail, on the 17th ultimo, and joined my father and his companions at Westport the following evening, my journey being delayed, not to say endangered, by the alterations in the roads cutting them up and rendering them almost impassable; the land on each side of these useless *public works* lying idle and neglected, unreclaimed and unsown. At the inns, and on the coach, the distress was the universal subject of conversation: everywhere, as I passed along, I heard tales of death and ruin;—the famine seemed to possess the mind of every one. As I left Castlebar, the coachman told me that all the meal was conveyed inland from Westport under military escort, any straggling cart being almost invariably stopped, and its load equally divided by the starving peasants, goaded to violence by that hunger,—under fear of which, I had seen them on the same road, three months before, drive back the cart-loads of oats going to Westport for exportation.

The next day we left Westport, on our way to Connemara, after a morning of much pressure, applications for aid coming in from all sides, especially from Louisburgh, a populous and most distressed parish, along the coast to the South;—the surgeon of the dispensary there describing the people as swept off by dysentery—the most usual form of the famine plague—by ten to twenty a day. He was evidently

a man of much feeling, almost overwhelmed by the horrors around him, and grateful, as though saved himself from ruin, for the relief we were able to transmit through his agency. The town of Westport was in itself a strange and fearful sight, like what we read of in beleaguered cities, its streets crowded with gaunt wanderers, sauntering to and fro with hopeless air, and hunger-struck look—a mob of starved almost naked women around the poor-house, clamouring for soup-tickets—our inn, the head-quarters of the road engineer and pay clerks, beset by a crowd of beggars for work. . . .

Early next morning, we proceeded to the small village of Leenane, where we found a large body of men engaged in making a pier under the Labour-rate Act, their overseer being old Jack Joyce, whose name will be recognized by all tourists in Connemara. This village appeared to be, comparatively speaking, well off, having had in it public works for some weeks, and the wages at pier-making being rather better than those earned on the roads. Still even here, the men were weak, evidently wasting away from want of sufficient food.

Bunderagh, the village of which we had heard so bad an account the previous evening, being on the other side of the harbour, I took a boat to it, and was much struck by the pale, spiritless look and air of the boatmen, so different from their wild Irish fun when I went the same excursion before. Having lately walked through all this district of Connemara, I had a good opportunity of comparing its present with its then aspect, and of noting the effects produced on it by the famine;—in this village of Bunderagh the change was peculiarly striking. In my previous visit, it struck me even then as a very poor place; the dark thunder-cloud was brooding over it, but as yet the tempest had not broken. The small cottiers then gathering in their few potatoes were in great fear: they saw the quick, sure approach of famine, death

stared them in the face but as yet his hand was stayed. One poor woman whose cabin I had visited, said, 'There will be nothing for us but to lie down and die.' I tried to give her hope of English aid, but alas, her prophecy has been but too true. Out of a population of 240, I found thirteen already dead from want. The survivors were like walking skeletons, the men gaunt and haggard, stamped with the livid mark of hunger, the children crying with pain, the women in some of the cabins too weak to stand. When there before, I had seen cows at almost every cabin, and there were besides many sheep and pigs owned in the village. But now all the sheep were gone—all the cows, all the poultry killed—only one pig left—the very dogs which had barked at me before had disappeared—no potatoes, no oats. We ordered a ton of meal to be sent there from Westport, but it could not arrive for some time. I tried to get some immediate help for those who were actually starving, there was hardly enough meal in the village to fill my pockets, and I was compelled to send a boat four miles to Leenane, to buy at a small store there.

I here met with a striking instance of the patience of these sufferers. The Bunderagh men had been at work for three weeks on the roads, and the men at a neighbouring village for five weeks; owing to the negligence or mistake of some officers of the works, with the exception of two of the gangsmen who had gone themselves to Westport, the end of the previous week, no wages had until this morning been received. While I was there, the pay clerk sent a messenger over, but still only with wages for a few, and it was wonderful, but yet most touching, to see the patient quiet look of despair with which the others received the news that they were still left unpaid. I doubt whether it would have been easy to find a man who would have dared to bear the like announcement to starving Englishmen. . . .

On arriving at the small town of Clifden, we heard

of four cases of death there from want, within the last three or four days. The reply of the waiter to our inquiry as to the condition of the people was, 'They are dying like dogs.' One woman who had crawled the previous night into an outhouse, had been found the next morning, partly eaten by dogs. Another corpse had been carried up the street in a wheelbarrow, and had it not been that a gentleman accidentally passing by, had given money for a coffin, it would have been thrown into the ground, merely covered with a sheet. Of burials without coffins we heard many instances, and to those who know the almost superstitious reverence of the Irish for funeral rites, they tell a fearful story. In two cases my father told me, he had had applications for money, not to keep the people alive, but for coffins to bury them. . . .

Those English gentlemen who, turning a deaf ear to the cry of their fellow-countrymen, strive to shift all responsibility on to the Irish landlords, would do well to study cases such as this, which are, alas! too numerous. However much the past conduct of Irish landlords may have originated or increased the present distress, it is most certain that, as a class, they are unable to keep their peasantry alive,—whose blood, therefore, will lie at the doors of all of us, who, being able, are unwilling to help. Finding that there was little likelihood of obtaining an effective resident agency in this district, we thought it best to go on to Galway, in the hope of being able to send relief from thence. This town we reached in the afternoon; and almost the first object which attracted our attention was a placard on the walls, issued by the Relief Committee, requesting tenders for coffins.

Report of a Visit to Ireland.
WILLIAM EDWARD FORSTER (1818–86).

1849

To his Wife.

London, Oct. 24. I was yesterday with W. and M. over the cholera districts of Bermondsey; and, oh, God! what I saw! people having no water to drink—hundreds of them—but the water of the common sewer which stagnated full of dead fish, cats, and dogs, under their windows. At the time the cholera was raging, Walsh saw them throwing untold horrors into the ditch, and then dipping out the water and drinking it!! And mind, these are not dirty debauched Irish, but honest hard-working artisans. It is most pathetic, as W. says, it makes him literally cry—to see the poor souls' struggle for cleanliness, to see how they scrub and polish their little scrap of pavement, and then to go through the house and see *society* leaving at the back poisons and filth—such as would drive a lady mad, I think, with disgust in twenty-four hours. Oh, that I had the tongue of St. James, to plead for those poor fellows! to tell what I saw myself, to stir up some rich men to go and rescue them from the tyranny of the small shopkeeping landlords, who get their rents out of the flesh and blood of these men. Talk of the horrors of 'the middle passage'. Oh, that one-tenth part of the money which has been spent in increasing, by mistaken benevolence, the cruelties of the slave-trade, had been spent in buying up these nests of typhus, consumption, and cholera, and rebuilding them into habitations fit—I do not say for civilized Englishmen—that would be too much, but for hogs even! . . . Twenty pounds sent to us, just to start a water-cart, and send it round at once—at once—for the people are still in these horrors, would pay itself. I can find men who would work the thing—who will go and serve out the water with their own hands, rather than let it go on. Pray, pray, stir people up, and God will reward you. CHARLES KINGSLEY (1819-75).

22. *middle passage.* The voyage of slave-ships from Africa to America. African slaves who were transported to America suffered greatly, being herded together without air, light, or means of cleanliness in the holds of ships.

THE ROCHDALE PIONEERS

1844

Twenty-eight working men—flannel weavers of Rochdale—formed an association, and opened a distributing store in Rochdale, subscribing £1 each.

'The objects and plans of this Society are to form arrangements for the pecuniary benefit and the improvement of the social and domestic condition of its members, by raising a sufficient amount of capital in shares of one pound each, to bring into operation the following plans and arrangements.

'The establishment of a Store for the sale of provisions, clothing, &c.

'The building, purchasing, or erecting a number of houses in which those members desiring to assist each other in improving their domestic and social condition may reside.

'To commence the manufacture of such articles as the Society may determine upon, for the employment of such members as may be without employment, or who may be suffering in consequence of repeated reductions in their wages.

'As a further benefit and security to the members of this Society, the Society shall purchase or rent an *estate or estates of land*, which shall be cultivated by the members who may be out of employment, or whose labour may be badly remunerated.

'That, as soon as practicable, this Society shall proceed to arrange the powers of production, distribution, education, and government; or, in other words, to establish a self-supporting home-colony of united interests, or assist other societies in establishing such colonies.

'That for the promotion of sobriety, a Temperance Hotel be opened in one of the Society's houses as soon as convenient.'

Quoted in the *History of the Rochdale Pioneers*, 1844-92.

G. I. HOLYOAKE.

By 1911 *the twenty-eight members had increased to* 8,924, *and the capital of* £28 *to* £368,122.

In 1922 *the number of Co-operative Societies was* 1,027 *with a membership of* 3,800,000, *and their share and loan capital was* £72,000,000.

'The consumers' Co-operative Movement in Great Britain was, for the first half-century of its development from the Toad Lane Store, ignored by the newspapers, unsuspected by Parliament, barely noticed by the professors of political economy, unmentioned in the contemporary memoirs and diaries of the leaders of society, and not even alluded to in the biographies of such political personages as Cobden and Bright, Gladstone and Disraeli, or in the speeches of Salisbury and Chamberlain.

A hundred years hence, we venture to predict, school text-books and learned treatises will give more space to consumers' Co-operation, its constitution and ramifications, than to the rise and fall of political parties or the personalities of successive Prime Ministers. For, unless we completely misinterpret the irresistible ground-swell of British democracy, it is this consumers' Co-operation, in its two-fold form of voluntary association of members (in what we now know as the Co-operative Society) and obligatory association of citizens (in Local Government)—in organic connexion with an equally ubiquitous organization of the producers by hand or by brain (in Trade Unions and Professional Associations)—which will constitute the greater part of the new social order that is destined very largely to supersede the present Capitalist System.'

From *The Consumers' Co-operative Movement.*
SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB.

OVERCROWDING AND SANITATION IN GLASGOW

1849

It is in those frightful abodes of human wretchedness which lie along the High Street, Saltmarket, and Briggate, and constitute the bulk of that district known as the 'Wynds and Closes of Glasgow' that all sanitary evils exist in perfection. They consist of ranges of narrow closes, only some four or five feet in width, and of great length. The houses are so lofty that the direct light of the sky never reaches a large proportion of the dwellings. The ordinary atmospheric ventilation is impossible. The cleansing, until lately, was most inefficient, and, from structural causes, will always, under existing arrangements, be difficult and expensive. There are large square middensteads, some of them actually under the houses, and all of them in the immediate vicinity of the windows and doors of human dwellings. These receptacles hold the entire filth and offal of large masses of people and households, until country farmers can be bargained with for their removal. There is no drainage in these neighbourhoods, except in a few cases; and from the want of any means of flushing, the sewers, where they do exist, are extended cesspools polluting the air. The water-supply is also very defective; such a thing as a household supply is unknown, and I have been informed that, from the state of the law, the water companies find it impossible to recover rates, and that, had the cholera not appeared, it was in contemplation to have cut off the entire supply from this class of property.

The interior of the houses is in perfect keeping with their exterior. The approaches are generally in a state of filthiness beyond belief. The common stairs and passages are often the receptacles of the most disgusting nuisances. The houses themselves

are dark, and without the means of ventilation; the walls dilapidated and filthy, and in many cases ruinous. There are no domestic conveniences even in the loftiest tenements.

Another matter connected with these districts, and their peculiar liability to epidemic disease, is the great and continually increasing overcrowding that prevails. I have been credibly informed that for years a population of many thousands has been annually added to Glasgow by immigration without a single house being built to receive them. The great proportion come from Ireland. Every cabin in that wretched country that is razed to the ground sends one or more families to find house-room in the cities of England and Scotland, and of this element of disease Glasgow obtains its full share.

The overcrowding and wretchedness of late years has brought typhus with it, a disease that not long ago was almost as rare in the large cities of Scotland as ague now is: and wherever typhus has prevailed, there cholera now prevails, or has done so recently.

From a *Report of General Board of Health on the Epidemic Cholera of* 1848-9.

DR. SUTHERLAND.

44. *immigration.* This overcrowding was a direct result of the Industrial Revolution.

RESULTS OF SANITARY LEGISLATION

1848-72

Under the Act of 1871, the Local Government Board were made the central public health authority, acquiring most of the powers both of the Privy Council and of the Home Department in relation to local sanitary authorities. The Public Health Act 1872

divided the whole of England and Wales outside London into Urban and rural sanitary districts, the former consisting of boroughs, or other urban districts (under Improvement Commissioners or Local Boards) and the latter of the poor law union area except such portion as was urban.

Provision was also made for the formation of Port Sanitary authorities. The new sanitary authorities were at the same time given the appropriate public health powers contained in the earlier Sanitary Acts.

The legislation of 1872 made it a duty of the sanitary authorities of all urban and rural districts, as well as of port sanitary authorities, to appoint properly qualified medical practitioners as medical officers of health for each district. The Local Government Board have made regulations governing the duties of all these officers, and also their appointment, &c., where these officers are appointed subject to their sanction. This is generally the case since that sanction enables the local authority to recover half the salary of each officer from the Imperial Grants paid to County Councils. Local authorities are also required to appoint an inspector of nuisances in each district, and their appointments have been made subject to conditions similar to those applying to medical officers of health.

Typhus fever and typhoid or enteric fever and cholera rank amongst the infectious diseases which are most directly controllable by efficient administration. Typhoid fever has greatly declined under the influence of improved public water supplies, the substitution of water-carriage for conservancy methods of sewage disposal, and the protection of milk and other foods against contamination by the specific infection of this disease.

Typhus fever has almost completely died out. This disease is due to infection from person to person, operating mainly in circumstances of dense overcrowding; and the clearance of insanitary areas, the

opening out of courts and alleys, the enforcement of building bye-laws, diminished overcrowding, general improvements of sanitation, and the removal of each fever patient to an isolation hospital, are factors which have played an important part in bringing about the reduced mortality from this cause.

The statistics already adduced furnish striking evidence of the improved conditions of public health. The average duration of life has been prolonged, the death rate has declined, and diseases such as tuberculosis, enteric fever, typhus fever, and smallpox have become less prevalent—one of them, typhus fever, having become almost extinct.

(The average death-rate in England and Wales, 1861–70, was 22·2 per 1,000; in 1901–7, 15·8.

In 1870, 147 persons per million died of typhus; in 1907 only one. In 1870, 113 persons per million died of smallpox; in 1907 none. In 1870, 388 persons per million died of enteric fever; in 1907 only 67.)

From *Public Health and Social Conditions.*
Local Government Board Report, 1909.
The Local Government Board.
Now the Ministry of Health.

SCHOOL KEEPING

1859

None are too old, too poor, too ignorant, too feeble, too sickly, too unqualified, in any or every way to be regarded by others as unfit for school keeping. Nay, there are few, if any, occupations regarded as incompatible with school-keeping, if not as simultaneous, at least as preparatory employments. Domestic servants out of place, discharged barmaids, vendors of toys or lollipops, keepers of small eating-houses, of mangles or small lodging-houses, needlewomen who take in plain or slop work, milliners, consumptive

patients in an advanced state, cripples almost bedridden, persons of doubtful temperance, outdoor paupers, men and women of seventy and even eighty years of age, persons who spell badly (mostly women, I grieve to say) who can scarcely write, and who cannot cipher at all. ... Such are some of the teachers not in remote rural districts, but in the heart of London, the capital of the world, as it is said to be, whose schools go to make up two-thirds of English Schools, and whose pupils swell the muster roll that some statistical philanthropists rejoice to contemplate.

Quoted from a report by Dr. HODGSON, appointed to inquire into the existing conditions of schools, 1859.

(This report does not apply to the 'Voluntary Schools' maintained by the Church of England and other religious bodies.

'The accommodation of these private schools was wretched in the extreme. The children were crowded together in bedrooms and in miserable kitchens. Many of the rooms were overcrowded, and the vitiated air and want of the most elementary sanitary arrangements told their own tale on the health and morality of the children who suffered. The streets of our great towns had their full complement of neglected children.')

(C. H. WYATT.)

THE FIRST GREAT EDUCATION ACT

1870

5. There shall be provided for every school district a sufficient amount of accommodation in public elementary schools available for all the children resident in such district for whose elementary education efficient and suitable provision is not otherwise made; and where there is an insufficient amount of such accommodation, in this Act referred to as 'public school accommodation', the deficiency shall be supplied.

18. The school board shall maintain and keep efficient every school provided by such board, and shall from time to time provide such additional school accommodation as is, in their opinion, necessary in order to supply a sufficient amount of public school accommodation for their district.

19. Every school board for the purpose of providing sufficient public school accommodation for their district, may provide, by building or otherwise, school-houses properly fitted up, and improve, enlarge, and fit up any school-house provided by them, and supply school apparatus and everything necessary for the efficiency of the schools provided by them.

36. Every school board may, *if they think fit*, appoint an officer or officers to enforce any bye-laws under this Act with reference to the attendance of children at school.

67. On or before the 1st day of January 1871 every local authority hereinafter mentioned, and subsequently any such local authority whenever required by the Education Department, but not oftener than once in every year, shall send to the Education Department a return containing such particulars with respect to the elementary schools and children requiring elementary education in their district as the Education Department may from time to time require.

74. (1) Requiring the parents of children of such age, not less than five years nor more than thirteen years, as may be fixed by the bye-laws, to cause such children (unless there is some reasonable excuse) to attend school.

96. After the thirty-first day of March 1871 no Parliamentary grant shall be made to any elementary school which is not a public elementary school within the meaning of this Act.

THE EDUCATION ACT (amended)

1876

Compulsory Education

WHEREAS it is expedient to make further provision for the education of children, and for securing the fulfilment of parental responsibility in relation thereto:

4. It shall be the duty of the parent of every child to cause such child to receive efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and if such parent fail to perform such duty, he shall be liable to such orders and penalties as are provided by this Act.

5. A person shall not, after the commencement of this Act, take into his employment (except as hereinafter in this Act mentioned) any child:

(1) Who is under the age of ten years; or

(2) Who, being of the age of ten years or upwards, has not obtained such certificate of his proficiency in reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic.

6. Every person who takes a child into his employment in contravention of this Act shall be liable, on summary conviction, to a penalty not exceeding forty shillings.

(Speaking of the district of Battersea, Mr. Graham Balfour says:

'Some of the courts have long been notorious in the neighbourhood—one for instance, is popularly known as "little Hell", and these have certainly improved with the advent of board schools and increased police. In the infernal court in question, a school board visitor tells me, in 1871, when the Education Act first came into force, there were 108 children, only seven of whom were attending school, and of these seven, four were the children of the only teetotaller in the place.')

(Quoted by Mr. C. H. Wyatt.)

STATE OF HOSPITAL NURSING

1865

My experience elsewhere, and all I can learn of the experience of others, is of such a nature as to convince me of the urgent need for pressing upon public attention the importance of a supply of good nurses and the present want of it. As things are, nurses have no organization as a class, and no morale. The popular idea, particularly of a hospital nurse, resembles that of a washerwoman—drinking is inseparable from both. The idea is only too true in fact; and its very existence and truth react against any individual effort to raise the standard of character. Indeed, I often fancy good people are amused while listening to my complaints, and surprised that I have not yet learned to believe that drink and dishonesty are essential properties of a nurse. I admit that at present nursing is the last resource of female adversity. Slatternly widows, runaway wives, servants out of place, women bankrupt of fame and fortune, from whatever cause fall back upon hospital nursing. When on a rare occasion a respectable young woman takes to it from choice, her friends most likely repudiate her, her relatives resort to various ways of concealing her whereabouts. . . . For all this we have ourselves to blame. Until our nurses have conferred upon them the dignity and morale of which a special education, special organization, firm and kind moral supervision, with high pay during active service, a home when not actually engaged, and a superannuation fund to look forward to in old age, we never shall have good nurses—or if we have them, we don't deserve them. Fortunately we do find good nurses, as good as any system could produce; but they attract the eye here and there by their stability amid a succession of waifs and strays, which float in and out of the institution as each month comes and goes. Instead of having

a stock of nurses in different stages of their education upon which to draw when necessary, the present state of things is this: Our large parochial hospitals are entirely left to the care of pauper nurses, the best that can be chosen of a bad lot—and well some of them do their cheerless, thankless task, but having, as a rule, no good to say of them, I prefer to be silent. Where paid nurses are employed, after passing in review a host of women of the sort I have truthfully described, a 'likely' person is selected. With no better testimonial of fitness than that of being 'likely'; she is put at once into a ward as day or night nurse. She certainly has received no previous instruction in the art; she may never have given a cup of cold water to a sick person—never made a poultice or seen a person die—as once happened in my own experience, when a nurse, from sheer ignorance, told me a patient had 'fallen quiet' who was actually dying! She may be the best material in the world to make a nurse out of; but if she providentially becomes one, it is more a freak of nature than the result of design—like Topsy, she must have 'growed'. I have never seen any systematic effort made to instruct a nurse. The visiting physician makes remarks to the student—the house-surgeon teaches the dresser bandaging and the putting up of fractures, but there is no such thing as educating the nurse. Yet I have seen, for example, a case of secondary haemorrhage in a surgical ward, where, had the nurse been taught to put her thumbs over a certain spot, and press firmly, the bleeding would have stopped; but she never had been taught—she ran for aid—and in a few minutes the patient was dead.

Introduction to First Hospital Report.
Dr. J. B. Russell, M. O. H. for Glasgow (1837-1904).

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE'S WORK FOR HOSPITALS

The Sanitary Commission

1855

The appalling quantity of disease among the British troops during the first winter of the Crimean War, when 'the number of men who were disabled by preventable disease amounted to more than one-third of the whole strength of the army which went out of England', led to the Government's sending out, in the spring of 1855, a Sanitary Commission. The experience of the comparative healthfulness which obtained in the camp so soon as the measures recommended by the Commission had been adopted stands on record as among the great lessons of sanitary science. Equally dreadful with the early camp-experience, and in some respects even more dreadful than they, were those of the Scutari hospitals for our Crimean sick and wounded; and there again the change of experience was no less instructive when, under the action of the Commission, and with the beneficent ministrations of Miss Nightingale and her staff of nurses, the previous monstrous insalubrities had been removed.

'Of the soldiers who were landed from the Crimea to be taken to those hospitals, two men were lost out of every five treated in the hospitals of the Bosphorus during the month of February 1855, and one man out of every two at Koulali. Improvements were begun in March 1855, but it was not till the end of June they were completed. The effect of the completion of the sanitary works is most striking. The mortality fell in June 1855 to less than a sixth part of what it was when the hospitals were occupied in October 1854, and to a nineteenth part of what it was in February 1855.'

The horrors of the earlier period can never be forgotten by those who were in a position to be rightly

aware of them. The details of evidence which the Commissioners and Miss Nightingale brought back with them to England, were ample proof that the old official system had not nearly enough taken into account the sanitary requirements of the soldier, and that, for the health of the army, whether in war or peace, a systematic better application of competent knowledge was wanted. Never to be named but with gratitude was Miss Nightingale, who, while serving devotedly as nurse and as teacher of nurses for the sufferers of the Crimean time, had observed with keen discernment the underlying causes of disaster, and was now recognized as of an eminent qualification to be herself among the chief suggesters of reform.

English Sanitary Conditions. SIR JOHN SIMON, K.C.B.
Medical Officer, H.M. Privy Council.

INVITATION TO THE FIRST TRADE UNION CONGRESS

1868

Manchester, April 16th, 1868.

Sir,

You are requested to lay the following before your Society. The vital interests involved, it is conceived, will justify the officials in convening a special meeting for the consideration thereof.

The Manchester and Salford Trades Council, having recently taken into their serious consideration the present aspect of Trade Unions, and the profound ignorance which prevails in the public mind with reference to their operations and principles, together with the probability of an attempt being made by the Legislature during the present Session of Parliament, to introduce a measure which might prove detrimental to the interests of such Societies unless some prompt

and decisive action be taken by the working classes themselves, beg most respectfully to intimate that it has been decided to hold in Manchester, as the main centre of industry in the provinces, a Congress of the representatives of Trades Councils, Federations of Trades, and Trade Societies in general.

The Congress will assume the character of the Annual Meetings of the Social Science Association, in the transactions of which Society the artisan class is almost excluded; and papers previously carefully prepared by such Societies as elect to do so, will be laid before the Congress on the various subjects which at the present time affect the Trade Societies, each paper to be followed by discussion on the points advanced, with a view of the merits and demerits of each question being thoroughly ventilated through the medium of the public press. It is further decided that the subjects treated upon shall include the following:

1. *Trade Unions an absolute necessity.*
2. *Trade Unions and Political Economy.*
3. *The effect of Trade Unions on foreign competition.*
4. *Regulation of the hours of labour.*
5. *Limitation of apprentices.*
6. *Technical Education.*
7. *Courts of Arbitration and Conciliation.*
8. *Co-operation.*
9. *The present inequality of the law in regard to conspiracy, intimidation, picketing, coercion, &c.*
10. *Factory Acts Extension Bill 1867: the necessity of compulsory inspection and its application to all places where women and children are employed.*
11. *The present Royal Commission on Trades Unions—how far worthy of the confidence of the Trade Union interests.*
12. *Legalization of Trade Societies.*
13. *The necessity of an Annual Congress of Trade Representatives from the various centres of industry.*

All Trades Councils, Federations of Trades, and Trade Societies generally are respectfully solicited to intimate their adhesion to this project on or before the 12th of May next, together with a notification of the subject of the paper that each body will undertake to prepare, and the number of delegates by whom they will be respectively represented; after which date all information as to the place of meeting, &c., will be supplied.

It is not imperative that all Societies should prepare papers, it being anticipated that the subjects will be taken up by those most capable of expounding the principles sought to be maintained. Several have already adhered to the project and have signified their intention of taking up the subjects Nos. 1, 4, 6, and 7.

The Congress will be held on Whit Tuesday, the 2nd of June next, its duration not to exceed five days; and all expenses in connexion therewith, which will be very small and as economical as possible, will be equalized amongst those Societies sending delegates, and will not extend beyond their sittings.

Communications to be addressed to Mr. W. H. Wood, Typographical Institute, 29 Water Street, Manchester.

By order of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council.

S. C. Nicholson, *President.*
W. H. Wood, *Secretary.*

From the *Ironworkers' Journal* of 1868.
Quoted from S. and B. Webb's *History of Trades Unionism.*

(The number of Trade Unionists in England and Wales in 1922 was 1,300,000.)

A COTTON STRIKE

(The men ask for the cessation of over-production and for an arbitration court)

1878

Fellow workers—We are and have been engaged during the past nine weeks in the most memorable

struggle between Capital and Labour in the history of the world. One hundred thousand factory workers are waging war with their employers as to the best possible way to remove the glut from an overstocked cloth market, and at the same time reduce the difficulties arising from an insufficient supply of raw cotton. To remedy this state of things the employers propose a reduction of wages to the extent of ten per cent. below the rate of wages agreed upon twenty-five years ago. On the other hand, we have contended that a reduction in the rate of wages cannot either remove the glut in the cloth market or assist to tide us over the difficulty arising from the limited supply of raw material. However, this has been the employers' theory, and at various periods throughout the struggle we have made the following propositions as a basis of settlement of this most calamitous struggle:

1. A reduction of ten per cent. with four days' working, or five per cent. with five days' working, until the glut in the cloth market and the difficulties arising from the dearth of cotton had been removed.
2. To submit the whole question of short time or reduction, or both, to the arbitrament of any one or more impartial gentlemen.
3. To submit the entire question to two Manchester merchants or agents, two shippers conversant with the Manchester trade, and two bankers, one of each to be selected by the employers and the other by the operatives, with two employers and two operatives, with Lord Derby, the Bishop of Manchester, or any other impartial gentleman, as Chairman, or if necessary, referee.
4. To split the difference between us, and go to work unconditionally at a reduction of five per cent.
5. Through the Mayor of Burnley, to go to work three months at a reduction of five per cent.,

and if trade had not sufficiently improved at that time, to submit to a further reduction.

6. And lastly, to an unconditional reduction of seven and a half per cent.

The Weavers' Manifesto of June, 1878.
Quoted by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *History of Trades Unionism.*

(The men failed in their efforts, but the principle of both arbitration and regulation of production is now observed in the Cotton Trade, which is singularly free from strikes. See also Mr. Gaskell's *Mary Barton* (1848).)

L' ENVOI

And did those feet in ancient time
Walk upon England's mountains green?
And was the Holy Lamb of God,
On England's pleasant pastures seen?
And did the Countenance Divine
Shine forth upon our clouded hills?
And was Jerusalem builded here
Among those dark Satanic mills?
Bring me my bow of burning gold!
Bring me my arrows of desire!
Bring me my spear! O clouds unfold!
Bring me my Chariot of Fire,
I will not cease from mental fight;
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.

WILLIAM BLAKE (1757-1827)

Printed in England by John Johnson at the OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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